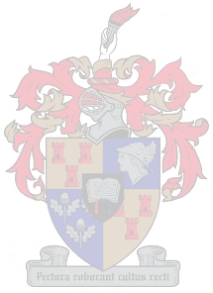
The Dual World Metaphor and the 'Struggle' in selected South African and African Films (1948 to 1996)

by

Ntsane Steve Ntsane



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Co-supervisors: Prof. K. Omotoso and Dr E.P.H. Hees

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

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Abstract

The terminology used in segregationist discourse that South Africa is a combination of 'first world' and 'third world' elements has been appropriated from an international discourse about problems of world-wide socio-economic development. The terms are used to describe the sophisticated metropolitan areas inhabited by highly developed whites and simple, backward, isolated, rural regions occupied by undeveloped or underdeveloped blacks. However, in South Africa this dual world metaphor, which has socio-political implications that have brought great misfortune to blacks, was institutionalised by apartheid, with the consequences that blacks have expressed their resistance in what became known as the 'struggle' against the dualist system.

Selected South African and African films whose themes have a bearing on such a socio-economic system are explored in this thesis. A supplementary exploration of films dealing with the theme of the 'struggle', which has become a metaphor for the 'generations of resistance', has been undertaken by means of a detailed analysis.

The interpretation of 'development' in this thesis finds a link betweeen the dualist paradigm, the perpetuation of poverty and the migratory labour system. The peculiar relationship which the 'struggle' has had with the cultures of black people, in which there is a mutual influence between the 'struggle' and the nature of these cultures, is explored in the relevant films.

However, this thesis offers no solutions, but exposes a vicious system which is threatening to gain world ascendency.

Abstrak

Die terminologie gebruik in die segregasie-diskoers tot die effek dat Suid-Afrika 'n kombinasie van 'Eerste Wêreld' en 'Derde Wêreld' elemente is, is oorgeneem uit 'n internasionale diskoers wat handel oor wêreld-wye sosio-ekonomiese ontwikkeling. Dié terme word gebruik om die gesofistikeerde metropolitaanse areas bewoon deur hoogs-ontwikkelde blankes en eenvoudige, agterlike, geïsoleerde, landelike streke beset deur onder- of on-ontwikkelde swartes te beskryf. Maar in Suid-Afrika is hierdie dubbel-wêreld metafoor – met die sosio-politiese implikasies daarvan wat tot groot ellende vir swartes aanleiding gegee het – deur Apartheid geïnstitusionaliseer, met die gevolg dat swartes hul weerstand uitgedruk het in wat bekend geword het as die '*struggle*' teen dierdie dualistiese sisteem.

'n Keur van films uit Suid-Afrika en die res van Afrika, die tema's waarvan betrekking het op hierdie sosio-ekonomiese sisteem, word ondersoek in hierdie skripsie. 'n Bykomstige ondersoek na films wat handel oor die tematiek van die '*struggle*', wat metafories geword het vir die 'generasie van weerstand', is by wyse van 'n meer ge-detaileerde analise uitgevoer.

Die interpretasie van 'ontwikkeling' in hierdie skripsie ontbloot 'n verband tussen die dualistiese sisteem, die voortsetting van armoede en die sisteem van trekardbeid. Die besonderse manier wat die '*struggle*' met die kulture van swart mense verhou, waarin daar 'n wedersydse beïnvloeding tussen die '*struggle*' en die aard van die kulture plaasvind, word ondersoek in die relevante films.

Hierdie skripsie bied egter geen oplossings nie, maar ontmasker eerder 'n wrede sisteem wat dreig tot wêreld-oorheersing.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to explore the dual world metaphor as a way of investigating the relationship between the 'first world-third world' discourse and the 'struggle' in selected South African and African films from 1948 to 1996. Though the terminology of 'first world-third world' is fairly recent, it describes an old segregationist discourse that South Africa is a combination of sophisticated metropolitan areas inhabited by highly developed whites, and simple backward isolated rural regions occupied by undeveloped or underdeveloped blacks.

While, on one hand, there is a view that the disparity was a result of the historically unequal distribution of wealth by racial segregation, and later, by apartheid, on the other hand, there is a view that the underdevelopment of blacks is caused by the traditionalist methods rural blacks have relied on for years which are essentially socialist; free enterprise is taken to be the answer. There is also a third view, which is not expressed but implied, that the undevelopment or underdevelopment of blacks is a natural condition.

Unlike in other parts of the world, such as Brazil, where a similar duality exists, in South Africa the dual world metaphor is used as an image of the unequal apportionment of socio-economic development, which was institutionalised by apartheid. Political resistance by blacks, which was generally known as the 'struggle', was a reaction to the institutionalised dualist paradigm in South Africa.

The 'struggle' was fought on various fronts, which included politics, economics, culture, sport, recreation and education. For instance, there were the local mass marches, stone throwing and burning of government property. International big business was drawn into the 'struggle' when it supported disinvestment from South Africa. There was international support for a cultural boycott of South Africa, which included the exclusion of South Africa

from participating in international sport tournaments, international performance arts and education. In addition, the Church was forced to participate in the 'struggle' and church ministers like Archbishop Tutu advocated that people should disobey the 'unjust laws' of apartheid and the Dutch Reformed Church eventually declared apartheid a heresy.

The 'first world-third world' terminology was appropriated from an international discourse about problems of world-wide socio-economic development. It is essentially a discourse of domination, which has had socio-economic implications in South Africa and in other African countries, such as the movement of black job seekers from the rural areas to the cities of South Africa in the 1940s and 1950s; and black Africans from other African countries to the major cities of Europe in search of employment opportunities in the 1960s and 1970s. Such socio-economic implications are rooted in the history of the communities that were conquered by the European system of colonialism, which gave rise to the dual world metaphor.

> It is widely assumed that, within South Africa, there exist alongside each other an advanced, modern, industrialised 'first world', dominated by the white section of the society, and an undeveloped, tradition-bound 'third world' centred mainly in the area for exclusive African occupation (Fischer, 1988:126).

The dual world metaphor is used to characterise the main socio-economic divide between developed sections of the society and undeveloped or underdeveloped populations, globally and in South Africa. The metaphor is a modification of previous representations of the socio-economic divide, which used 'race', 'culture' and 'ethnicity'.

> In earlier period, references to 'race' in official parlance were partially supplanted by the language of 'cultures' and 'ethnicity'. In the first half of the 20th century, South Africa's population was seen to comprise different races; thereafter, for the thirty years, greater emphasis was laid on cultural differences and 'ethnicity' as factors responsible for diversity in the country's population, particularly the African population (Sharp, 1988:117).

For Sharp, the shifts in the discourse of domination were deliberate rather than random events. He says that the switch from 'race' to 'culture' came about due to international reaction to uses of 'race' in the aftermath of the Second World War, because 'race' was used in Nazi Germany as a justification for the persecution of Jews and other minorities.

> In South Africa it was partially supplanted by a term which had widespread respectability. To have maintained the argument that South Africa's social problems resulted solely from the

> co-existence of different 'races' would have contributed the country's growing isolation, given a post-war world which was keen to demonstrate that 'race' had no social implications (Sharp,1988:117)

In South Africa, the dual world paradigm is intricately interwoven with other socio-political discourses such as the segregationist discourse that blacks have a natural affinity with the pastoral lifestyle of the rural areas. Hence, it is argued, blacks are out of place in modern cities like Johannesburg. That is how the Jim-comes-to-Jo'burg motif, which is essentially an urban discourse, arose. But, parallel to the urban discourse is a rural cultural discourse that blacks in the rural areas that go to the cities enjoy city life so much that they do not write or return to their families in the rural areas.

The films for this thesis were chosen because of their relevance to the thesis of the dual world metaphor in South Africa and Africa and Europe, and to the 'struggle' in South Africa against unequal distribution of wealth. Films with a background that is set against the Soweto unrest of 1976, such as *Mapantsula* (1988), directed by Oliver Schmitz and Thomas Mogotlane, *Sarafina* (1992), directed by Darrell James Roodt, and *A Dry White Season* (1989), directed by Euzhan Palcy, reflect the 'struggle' against the dualist system.

The 'struggle' has a peculiar relationship with the cultures of the black people of South Africa. For instance, the cultures of blacks could not be defined without taking into consideration the people's 'struggle'; the 'struggle' influenced the cultures of blacks, at the same time, black people's cultures provided guidance in the 'struggle'. For example, in *Dry White Season,* a scene depicting the beginning of the Soweto unrest shows school children marching and singing protest songs. Later, when they were confronted by the police, they stopped marching, but continued singing. The song they sung was "Nkosi Sik'eleli' Africa". They sing it with clenched fists, which are waved high above their heads.

It is clear that this is a protest gathering; at the time, "Nkosi Sik'eleli Africa" was a banned song in South Africa; the clenched fist was a symbol of blacks crushing whites, but few of the black school children know that. The symbol arise from the association of the darker outer skin of the hand with blacks, and the lighter skin of the inside of the hand with whites. When the fist is clenched, it creates the metaphor of blacks crushing whites. The symbol was adopted from the Black Panther movement in the USA in the 1960s.

In spite of this provocative demonstration, no violence is intended and none is expected. So far, the behaviour of the school children is in accordance with probably all black African cultures that insist that children can express their dissatisfaction towards adults, but in a non-violent way. It is not African-like for children to be violent towards adults. In addition, a song, like a letter, because of the distance it maintains between the writer and the reader, is a good way of expressing one's frustrations without temptation for violence.

In *Sarafina*, for instance, a scene which demonstrates the use of a song as a means of communication is one where Sarafina hugs her mother Angelina, who sings to Sarafina a song with lyrics that illustrates her frustration with Sarafina's bad behaviour. In response, Sarafina joins the song with lyrics that express remorse. Towards the end of the song, a chorus they both sing is significant for it harmonizes their reconciliation.

However, the South African police, who were not familiar with such nuances of the African cultures, misunderstood the meaning of the protest and reacted with violence, shooting and killing or maiming some of the protesting school children. To the school children, the violence of the police came as a complete surprise.

But black South African cultures were influenced by the 'struggle'. For instance, in both *Dry White Season* and *Sarafina*, there are scenes where school children tell adults to stop buying beer because it pays for the bullets that are used to kill them. For the same reason, children prevent adults from purchasing goods from white owned stores. For children to tell parents or adults what to do was unprecedented in the African cultures, but because the children were forced into a role of directing the 'struggle', they changed the culture.

The Soweto unrest was reflected in films such as *Dry White Season*, *Mapantsula* and *Sarafina*. The reason no feature films were made about other incidents of resistance is due to the historical development of South Africa's film industry, which excluded stories of blacks, except when the presence of blacks impacted on the stories of whites. Hence I categorize the films set against the background of the 1976 Soweto unrest as a genre of the 'struggle' films. While films focusing on the dualist interpretation of 'first world-third world' are discussed in Chapter 4, the exploration of the 'struggle' films is done in Chapter 5.

Selected films which reflect the dualist system of 'first world-third world' are *African Jim* [Jim Comes to Jo'burg] (1949) directed by Donald Swanson, *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1951) directed by Zoltan Korda, *Come Back, Africa* (1959) directed by Lionel Rogosin and *Jump the Gun* (1996) directed by Darrell James Roodt. Such films are compared and contrasted with African films made outside South Africa, which reflect the consequences of the dual world system such as *Soleil'O* (1972) directed by Mauritanian filmmaker, Med Hondo; *La Noire de* [Black Girl] (1966) directed by Senegalese filmmaker, Ousmane Sembene; and *Touki Bouki* [The Hyena's Journey] (1973) directed by Djibril Diop Mambety, also from Senegal.

African Jim reflects the dualist system of whites dominating blacks in South Africa in that the hero of the film, Jim, travels from the rural area of KwaZulu to work for a white man in the metropolitan city of Johannesburg. First as a gardener/housekeeper and later as a singer for a record company owned by the same white man. In terms of the segregationist system of South Africa, Jim could not live in Johanneburg without working for a white employer. The white man who employed Jim therefore legitimised Jim's existence in Johannesburg.

The main character in *Cry, the Beloved Country*, Reverend Khumalo goes to Johannesburg to intervene on behalf of his relatives and friends who have become victims of the dualist system, which oppresses blacks. For instance, his son, Absolom was convicted of murder after he and two others broke into a white man's house with the intention to rob. Absolom fired a fatal shot at the white man, Arthur Jarvis, when Jarvis surprised the robbers in his house.

Primarily Reverend Khumalo's visit to Johannesburg is a response to a letter from Reverend Msimango of Sophiatown, which said that Reverend Khumalo's sister, Gertrude, was 'very sick'. However, upon arrival in Johannesburg, Reverend Khumalo discovers that the 'sickness' mentioned in the letter meant that Gertrude was a prostitute and a shebeen queen. Because of that, she has been in jail several times. A relevant point which David Coplan raises about black single women in Sophiatown is that, "There was a large though necessarily undocumented number of single women who provided liquor, sex and other recreational services to men in order to earn a living on their own" (1985:92).

Moreover, Coplan says that a Johannesburg ordinance prohibited Africans from trading 'except in recognized location'; and ordered them to give up all the tea-houses, cafes, restaurants, hotels, boarding houses, butcher shops, eating houses, bake houses, shops, factories for the manufacture of food and drink, theatres, bioscopes, music halls, billiard saloons, pawnbrokers, cycle dealers, and slaughterhouses they had been running elsewhere.

Come Back, Africa demonstrates the devastating employment conditions of blacks caused by whites which were exercising their superiority over blacks that were subjugated by the system of apartheid, which had institutionalised the dualist system in South Africa.

By making use of two protagonists, a white male, Clint, and a black female, Gugu, the post-liberation film, *Jump the Gun*, in line with the gender-equality-promoting constitution of the new South Africa, appears to be calling for the equalization of the position of black females with that of white males. In that sense, *Jump the Gun*, rejects the dualist interpretation of 'first world-third world'. In addition, though Gugu and Clint arrived separately but at the same time in Johannesburg, Gugu from Durban and Clint from Mossel Bay, Gugu does not go back, but Clint goes to Namibia, an even more exotic place than Mossel Bay.

Like *Come Back, Africa,* which reflect the devastating conditions of black employment in the cities of South Africa, *Soleil'O* demonstrates black African workers' struggle against overwhelming racial discrimination and appalling conditions of employment such as low paying menial jobs, lack of proper housing and overcrowded places of accommodation in the cities of Europe such as Paris. In addition, the Parisian employers assert their superiority by treating the black African workers with disdain. The conditions which the immigrant workers from Africa were running away from at home are already in place in the metropolis centres. The migratory labour system was therefore a manifestation of the dualist system.

The prison-like working conditions and extreme form of racism to which Diuoana in *La Noire de* is subjected to by her Parisian employers, is a worst case-study of the migratory labour system which mirrors the dualist system. *Touki-Bouki* is an illustration of what it took for some of the young men and women who left African countries in the 1960s and 1970s to get to the major cities of Europe in search of jobs. I will discuss these films in great detail in Chapter 4.

In a global context, the 'first world-third world' metaphor is known to be a product of the relativisation process of the modernist ideology, which prioritised the interests of Europe over those of its former colonies. The metaphor articulates the inferior socio-economic condition of the former European colonies, and compares such poverty-stricken areas with the highly developed and superior socio-economic condition of European countries. Moreover, the metaphor recognizes Europe as the metropolitan 'centre', and the former colonies as 'peripheral' areas.

It is the dichotomy between the privileged *centre* and the underprivileged *periphery* which is the focus of discussion in Chapter 4. The chapter explores films which reflect the situation that forced rural blacks to travel to the cities of South Africa in search of job opportunities and black Africans to leave their countries for work in the major cities of Europe.

The material struggle that drove many rural young black men and women to cities of South Africa in the 1940s and 1950s for employment opportunities is associated here with the regressive conditions which became worse after independence in the 1960s and 1970s in many African states. Such conditions forced young black African men and women to seek jobs in the major cities of Europe.

Though the dissertation uses selected films made in South Africa and Africa, the emphasis is on South African films from 1948 to 1996. The year 1948 is important for it marks the first real participation by South African blacks in the film industry of South Africa. The first full-length feature film made in South Africa with an all black African cast, *African Jim* [Jim Comes to Jo'burg] was made in 1948 and released in 1949. Prior to 1948 blacks played no significant part in the film industry of South Africa.

For instance, there were no black directors, trained black technicians, black screenplay writers or black actors who took leading roles in the films made by South African whites. That was in spite of a booming 'mini-Hollywood', which already existed in South Africa by 1916. In that year the South African film industry produced expensive films such as *De Voortrekkers* (*In Darkest Hollywood* [doc.], 1993).

In addition, 1948 is the year in which the first government of apartheid, the National Party, came into power in South Africa. The laws of apartheid such as the Group Areas Act, Mixed

Marriage Act, and the Pass laws, etc. led to the Sharpeville incident where blacks were massacred by the South African police in 1960. The event disturbed the new working relationship between whites and blacks, which started developing in the film industry of South Africa in 1948.

Newsreels of the Sharpeville incident, which were shown around the world, damaged the international image of South Africa. As a result, the government introduced a system of film subsidies which helped to pay for the development of films that either supported apartheid or gave a favourable reflection of South Africa. Specifically, the subsidies encouraged the rebuilding of the damaged international image of South Africa in the aftermath of the Sharpeville incident.

Unlike other films made before it, *African Jim* attempts to reflect the cultures of blacks in the rural areas as well as in the urban areas, especially Sophiatown, a township which was situated near a big modern city like Johannesburg. Before 1948 no films were made about the stories of blacks. In addition, *African Jim* deals with the theme of rural blacks that travel to the cities, either out of adventure or because of the need to find employment. For instance, though the main character (Jim) travels to Johannesburg out of curiosity, he ends up working in the big city, first as a gardener/cleaner and later as a waiter and a singer in a nightclub that showcased the entertainment talent of blacks.

African Jim is probably the first South African film to use the Jim-comes-to-Jo'burg motif as its main point. The motif was popular in the novels and literature of the 1940s. By showing conditions where Jim worked for a white man in Johannesburg and in the rural areas where Jim comes from, *African Jim* reflects the dual world metaphor that is the central theme of this study.

The 'Jim-comes-to-Jo'burg' motif also features in subsequent films such as *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1951), *Come Back, Africa* (1959) and *Jump the Gun* (1996). In *Cry, the Beloved Country*, Reverend Stephen Khumalo of Ndotsheni, a fictitious village in Natal, travels to Johannesburg to look for his sister who went there to look for her husband who went to Jo'burg to look for work but never wrote or returned.

Zechariah in *Come Back, Africa* also comes from rural Natal to look for work in Johannesburg. In *Jump the Gun* a black woman from Durban (Gugu) and a white man from the oil plant in Mossel Bay (Clint) arrive simultaneously by train in Johannesburg. While Gugu has come to Jo'burg to pursue her singing career, Clint has come out of adventure.

Metaphorically, the 'Jim-comes-to-Jo'burg' motif, which is very much a South African urban discourse, is not limited to situations in films made in South Africa; it resonates in films made elsewhere in Africa as well. It is used parallel to a rural cultural discourse that says blacks that go to the cities like Johannesburg do not write or return. For instance, the protagonist (Mouri) in *Touki Bouki* moves from a village setting to look for opportunities in the city of Dakar to enable him to assemble enough money for him and his girlfriend (Anta) to go to Paris.

In addition, at the beginning of *Touki Bouki* a discussion between the vegetable vendor and her friend is about the son of the vegetable vendor who went to study in Paris, but does not write or return. However, the main character (Diuoana) in Ousmane Sembene's film, *La Noire de* [Black Girl] (1966), extends the Jim-comes-to-Jo'burg motif into an international arena when she travels from Dakar to Paris in search of greener pastures.

In spite of the difference in the period in which *La Noire de* was made and *Jump the Gun*, as well as the themes explored, the similarity between the two films is that their main characters (Diuoana) in *La Noire de* and (Gugu) in *Jump the Gun* emerge from a relatively smaller city to a bigger city. They are not country girls.

Like *Come Back, Africa*, which deals with the devastating living and working conditions of black workers, especially those from the rural areas to the cities of South Africa, *Soleil'O* (1972) by Med Hondo of Mauritania explores the predicament of African workers in the capitals of Europe, specifically Paris. I will discuss these films in detail in Chapter 4.

This chapter will also define theoretical terms such as 'culture', 'community' and 'development', which are pertinent to the dual metaphor for 'first world' and 'third world'. Such concepts are best understood within the context in which they are used, theoretically and practically. The relevant terminology is used within the context of this study and therefore forms part of this thesis.

As I mentioned earlier, the cultures of blacks are not only important because they define who black people are, but culture played a role in the 'struggle' against the dualist system of 'first world-third world' in South Africa; elsewhere in Africa culture played a role in defining the peoplehood of the new nations after independence.

Though 'culture' has been defined and redefined many times over the last two hundred years, the meaning of culture needs to be considered within the context of specific fields of study. As culture is the framework within which the discussion of the selected films in this dissertation is conducted, reference is often made to culture, hence it become necessary to offer a working definition. The purpose here is to provide a conceptual point of view of culture that is applicable to this thesis rather than a conclusive or authoritative definition.

Cabral (1970:8) says that the value of culture as an element of resistance to foreign domination lies in the fact that culture is the vigorous manifestation on the ideological plane of the physical and historical reality of an oppressed society, or of one that is about to be dominated. He views culture as being simultaneously the fruit of a people's history and a determinant of their history. Such historical results are brought about by the positive and negative influence, which culture exerts on the evolution of the relationships between man and his environment, among men or groups of men in a society, as well as among oppositional societies.

Coetzee (1989:71) draws a link between culture and people's development. For him culture is an overarching reality that influences and exercises control over individuals and their personal creative potential, such as symbols, ideas, values and benefits within society. He says that culture is a dynamic and changing process of signification to which both the individual and community contribute. Culture defines and redefines any changing or developing process through community activities.

For instance, in the popular culture of music and dance which developed in the black townships, especially Sophiatown, in the 1950s and 1960s it was not only individual artists who initiated the different cultural styles such as *marabi*, *kwela* and *mbaqanga;* it was developments and cultural activities within the communities in those townships that gave rise to the new trends.

However, for David Coplan, apartheid encouraged the development of a multi-cultural society in South Africa as part of the divide-and-rule system, which was crucial for maintaining white political domination. But, unlike black Americans, South African blacks constituted a large majority of the population and retained their own languages, cultures and communities, enduring a peculiar two-world system of migratory labour. "Yet the two worlds were part of the same socio-economic system" (Coplan, 1985:148).

Referring to the role which the diversity of cultures of urban blacks played in enriching urban performance arts, Coplan says that urban performing arts represent not the disintegration but the creation of a culture of performance expression; like other cultural forms, the do not derive solely from the minds of individuals. They emerge as an aspect of social action and resonate with emotion and meaning among members of communities in the context of social institutions. “If black South Africans have retained some vitality and autonomy in their culture, it is only because they have managed to build new structures for social order and survival” (Coplan, 1985:3-4).

Steve Ntsane draws a link between ethnicity and African cultures. According to him, it is in the ethnic groups that the cultures of black Africans reside, hence cultural diversity can lead to a strong national culture. "The value and the strength of cultures is in their differences, which are as important as their similarities" (Ntsane, 2001:3).

Coplan's argument is that the cultural diversity that produced the first minstrelsy and later vaudeville in New York also accounted for the continued development of concert-and-dance variety entertainment in Johannesburg. "Urban schools were ethnically mixed, and so were the performance ensembles they organized" (1985:149).

In an exclusive interview with this researcher, Professor Simon Bekker of the Department of Sociology at the University of Stellenbosch gave a sociological definition of culture as the way people ought to think and act rather than the way they do think and act.

In addition to the definitions provided above, for the purpose of this study it is beneficial to take into consideration that culture signifies a people experience, their attitude and feelings. In addition, memory is an important element of the cultures of black South Africans. For

instance, in order for the "Truth Commission" to be acceptable in South Africa, it had to be made clear to the victims of apartheid that the emphasis was on forgiving rather than forgetting what had happened under apartheid. Over and over again Bishop Desmond Tutu had to reiterate to the people of South Africa not to forget what had happened during apartheid lest the same evils should be repeated in future.

Chapter 2 is the literature review of writing that is relevant to the thesis of the dual world metaphor and the 'struggle' as a reaction to the dualist system.

Chapter 3 looks at how liberal humanism, upon which capitalism is based, influenced Western filmmaking, and how African socialism, as a response to Western capitalism, influenced African filmmaking. However, due to the broad interpretation which capitalism and socialism have, such terms are used cautiously to refer to their immediate associations with individualism and group participation.

The understanding is that film, being a Western invention, when introduced to Africa, brought with it an ideology, which essentially promoted a Western point of view. As such, the Western point of view about Africa and the Africans clashed with how Africans viewed themselves and the continent of Africa. For instance, Peter Davis makes a good point that the invention of the cinema at a time when imperialism reached its apex amounted to what was in effect "a second conquest of Africa, not merely in the acquisition of images, but in the way these images were presented" (Hees, 1996:67). The point that Davis is trying to make is that the images in the films of white filmmakers in South Africa reinforced the dualist interpretation of 'first world-third world'.

I am convinced that it is important and relevant to this thesis to point out the history that led to the dualist paradigm in South Africa, especially to show the fallacy of the argument of the dualist discourse that blacks are underdeveloped because of their traditional ways which are backward and ineffective. The assumption is that for blacks to improve their situation, they have to adapt the ways of the whites. For instance, Michael T. Martin's description of such a situation is that

> Blacks were dispossessed of the virtues Europeans appropriated as uniquely their own. The corollary of this dehistoricized ideological deformation is that blacks were unable to evolve and progress from traditional and unchanging world in the absence of the European. This

> culturally anti-universalist doctrine, simplified here, was a central feature of the Euro-hegemony (1995:6).

Evidence of some of the allegations raised in Martin's argument can be found in the history of South Africa's colonial experience. For instance, South African blacks blame the conditions which gave rise to the dual world metaphor on three specific historical events, the promulgation of the Hut Tax of 1905, the Union of South Africa in 1910 and the Native Land Act of 1913. Before the Native Land act was passed, South African black farmers competed favourably with white farmers (*Generations of Resistance*, 1979).

The Hut Tax caused financial difficulties, especially for rural blacks, many of whom were forced to abandon life in the rural areas in search of jobs in the cities of South Africa. Unlike whites who built one house with a kitchen, bedrooms, a dining room, a living room, a study, toilets, etc., blacks had a separate house for each of these facilities. Hence, the Hut Tax, which taxed each house separately, proved to be too expensive for many rural blacks.

In opposition to the Hut Tax, Chief Bambatha led a rebellion. The resistance spread to rural areas such as Mpondoland. But the British army beheaded Chief Bambatha quite early in the battle. Pictures of the head of the Chief were sold as postcards, which the British soldiers sent to their sweethearts in England (*Generations of Resistance* [doc.], 1979).

In 1910, the Union of South Africa was formed from two British colonies and two Boer republics. However, the Act of Union did not give South African blacks political rights.

The 1913 Native Land Act awarded 87 percent of all land in South Africa to whites, and the remaining 13 percent to blacks, especially rural blacks. The land retained by whites, included all the major towns, mineral resources, industries and the most productive agricultural farming land. The land set aside for blacks was over-used and damaged by erosion.

Moreover, less than four million whites shared the land set aside for them, and more than seven million blacks, particularly rural blacks, were forced to survive in the thirteen percent of land held for them as reserves. Another eight million blacks lived in segregated satellite townships outside the cities where they worked. While blacks from the rural areas provided migrant labour for 'white South Africa', townships like Sophiatown near Johannesburg and Langa near Cape Town were vast labour camps (*Generations of Resistance* [doc.], 1979).

In the cities segregation laws of the system of 'colour bar' placed black workers at the lowest level of South Africa's workforce. For instance, blacks were not allowed to quit or change jobs, join or form trade unions and black male workers from the rural areas, who worked in the cities, were prevented from bringing their wives and children along (*Generations of Resistance* [doc.], 1979).

Collectively, the laws of segregation were called the system of the 'colour bar', because they were intended to keep blacks permanently apart from whites. In the 1920s and 1930s the discourse of segregation created the 'colour bar', which was the forerunner of apartheid. The dual world metaphor, which was started by the segregationist discourse, was sustained under apartheid.

Rural black male workers, who were not allowed to bring their wives and children to the cities where they worked, were allowed one month a year to visit their families in the rural areas. Such workers were called 'migrant' workers because they travelled annually to their families in the rural areas.

The Department of Bantu Affairs referred to the wives and children of 'migrant' workers as "unnecessary appendages", hence they could not be allowed to live in the cities with the working men (*Generations of Resistance* [doc.], 1979). For eleven months rural black male workers lived like bachelors in reserved compounds, which were called 'bachelor quarters'.

In *Come Back, Africa*, after arriving at the mines in Johannesburg the hero, Zechariah, faced with similar conditions that are found in the 'bachelor quarters', writes to his wife in the rural area complaining of a lack of privacy. He says he misses his wife and would like to bring her with their children to Johannesburg, but there is no privacy or accommodation for his family.

In the cities the 'bachelor quarters' were built adjacent to the black African townships, where urban blacks lived; young women from such townships frequented the 'bachelors' offering sex for sale. Other young women from the nearby black townships established 'genuine' love relationships with the 'bachelors', which often led to illegitimate offspring.

Such relationships complicated the situation of the rural male workers, for, while such relationships had a negative impact on the families of the 'bachelors' in the rural areas; they also created social tensions between the 'bachelors' and the black community in the townships. The newly formed family ties in the city caused many 'bachelors' to choose to remain with their 'city families' rather than return to their 'rural families' for their one-month holiday. Effectively, the system disrupted the family life of rural blacks.

The 'first world-third world' metaphor associates the dichotomy in the conditions of blacks-whites in South Africa (including between urban blacks and city whites), with the dichotomy in the conditions found in poverty-stricken underdeveloped 'third world' countries, such as those found in Africa and the developed conditions of wealthy 'first world' countries, such as those found in Europe.

Due to the history of the development of cinema in South Africa, which had a racial bias, that favoured stories of South African whites to the exclusion of stories of blacks, before 1976 no feature/fiction films were made in South Africa that reflect the 'struggle' against segregation or apartheid. The 1976 Soweto unrest therefore has become a metaphor for the 'generations of resistance' by blacks against racism and oppression, firstly against segregation and, secondly, apartheid. Significantly, 1976 was also the year in which television, which was another form of cinema, was introduced to South Africa. The effect was a growing awareness of the 'two worlds' that constituted South Africa.

While a film like *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1951) portrays the material struggle which forced rural blacks to look for work in the cities, *Come Back, Africa* reflects the devastating conditions of employment in the cities of South Africa like Johannesburg. For instance, in *Cry, the Beloved Country* the narration in word and image illustrates the poor conditions of rural blacks, such as their thin animals and women trying very hard to win fruit from the hopelessly eroded soil.

In *Come Back, Africa* (1959), Zechariah who shows great determination to find employment, moves from one job to another due to the ridiculous working condition and treatment from white employers. At one time he finds the situation unbearable and threatens to return to his home in the rural areas. However, his wife convinces him to stay on in Johannesburg and keep searching for jobs.

Touki Bouki (1973) shows why young black Africans were drawn to European capitals such as Paris. Like *Come Back, Africa*, Med Hondo's *Soleil'O* (1972) illustrates, in the most devastating way, the employment conditions of black Africans in European cities like Paris. Such workers struggle to find decent jobs, accommodation and space to practise their cultures.

The reason for adopting a cultural rather than either a social or historical approach in this thesis is that culture, while it is the signifier of the development of a people, also defines their identity in terms of their experience, attitude and feelings within a social and historical context. In addition, because a certain type of complexity, in the unity of a structured whole constitutes culture, culture is a synthesis of many related elements of human existence. In such a tapestry the social and historical perspective of 'a people' is included.

This study also takes into consideration Mazrui's interpretation of a triple heritage which says that the modern African cultures are partly imports from Europe that were introduced in Africa during colonialism. Mazrui's theory of a triple heritage is illustrated in his documentary film, *A Triple Heritage* (1989), based on his book, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* (1986).

According to the theoretical framework of the "Triple Heritage", black African cultures are an amalgamation of Western cultural transplants brought into Africa by colonialism and mixed with bits and pieces of African cultures. Due to the importation of elements from Europe, Africans had to re-invented such cultural transplants to suit their language and environment. Hence, African cultures, particularly urban cultures, are viewed in this study as cultural re-inventions. The other two aspects of black African cultures, according to the "Triple Heritage" theory, are religion and ethnicity.

The relevance of the "Triple Heritage" theory to this thesis, particularly the fact that elements of European cultures were adopted into African cultures and that religion had an influence in the African cultures, is that the theory is centred within the project of the enlightenment, which articulated the inferiority of all other cultures. It was due to the project of enlightenment that African countries were colonised, and out of colonialism emerged the

socio-economic conditions which are mirrored by the dualist system. Religion was an important part of the project of enlightenment.

Due to the history of the racially divided society of South Africa, especially before the dismantling of apartheid in 1994, the memory of South Africans is predicated on historical events, such as the conditions which were created by the dualist system. It was because of memory that the 'struggle' took place because it was from memory that blacks got their sense of injustice.

Moreover, because of the peculiar relationship between the 'struggle' and black African cultures, in South Africa, memory, has become an important element of the cultures of black South Africans; it also signifies the communality of black South Africans. Historical events and practices such as segregation and apartheid, which were the source of the anger and frustration of blacks, were the genesis of the political defiance of blacks, as Peter Davis notes in his documentary, *Generations of Resistance*.

In conclusion, this chapter has introduced the study by defining the meaning of the title, *The Dual World Metaphor and the 'Struggle' in Selected South African and African films (1948 to 1996)*. In addition, the chapter has provided a brief background to how the metaphor for 'first world-third world' emerged both in South Africa and globally. It has also highlighted that because the dualist system was institutionalised by apartheid in South Africa black people's response to the conditions created by the dualist paradigm was the 'struggle'.

The chapter has outlined the South African historical and political context, which gave rise to various discourses that have a bearing on the dual world metaphor, such as the Jim-comes-to-Jo'burg urban discourse, and the rural cultural notion that blacks who go to cities like Johannesburg do not write or return. In addition, the chapter has drawn parallels between the dual world metaphor for 'first world-third world' in South Africa and between other African countries and Europe.

For instance, rural blacks were forced to travel to the cities of South Africa in search of jobs because of non-development or underdevelopment in the rural areas; similarly, due to regressive conditions in their own countries, many young black Africans that were forced to travel to European cities for employment opportunities.

However, the dual world metaphor, like the phrase, 'the white man's burden', is misleading because it gives the impression that underdevelopment is a natural condition of blacks. However, a more realistic view is that which links the development of the 'first world' to the underdevelopment of the 'third world'; that accepts that one was a consequence of the other. Describing such a view, John Sharp says:

> There is more than one way to conceptualise the relationship between 'first' and 'third' worlds. The dominant usage sees their co-existence as accidental; an alternative view makes the under- development of the 'third world' a consequence of the development of the 'first'. The alternative view, makes better historical sense, in that it involves a more accurate depiction of the terms of the relationship over time. On the other hand, however, it too is a simplification of complex social processes, and it can be used, and certainly has been used, to the detriment of the people whose misfortune it purports to explain (Sharp, 1988:112).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

John Sharp's essay, "Two worlds in one country: 'First world' and 'third world' in South Africa" (1988:111), inspired me in choosing the title of my thesis, *The Dual World Metaphor and the 'Struggle' – Selected South African and African films from 1948 to 1996*. Sharp's essay explores the various uses and political implications of the term 'first world-third world'. Sharp states that the terminology has been appropriated from an international discourse about problems of world-wide socio-economic development; he traces the official and semi-official use of the terminology in South Africa from the news broadcasts of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) in 1983.

Though the introduction of the terminology in South Africa is fairly recent, it is a modification of earlier attempts by Pretoria to 'modernise' the ideological justification for white domination. Sharp indicates that earlier descriptions of the diversity in South Africa were articulated in terms of 'race', 'culture' and 'ethnicity'. He argues that the shifts in terminology represented changes and continuities in the politics of 'reform'.

> 'Ethnicity' avoided the pitfalls and opprobrium associated with 'race', but allowed people to maintain in commonsense perception that South Africa's population comprised a series of disparate groups. The revelation was simply that the source of the social disparities lay in cultural rather than physical differences (1988: 118).

For Sharp, the liberal attitude of the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), which took over from the Corporation for Economic Development (previously known as the Bantu

Investment Corporation) in 1983, influenced a shift from Verwoerdian apartheid to strategies of 'growth with redistribution' and 'the satisfaction of basic needs' of blacks by the Afrikaner government.

However, I find Sharp's logic that the shift in the terminology that described the dual paradigm "represented changes and continuities in the politics of reform" a bit problematic. The problem that I have is specifically with the two terms, *changes* and *continuities*. The terms express different things and, therefore, appear to give conflicting indications.

Even if Sharp deliberately used the two terms to demonstrate that there were some elements of apartheid that changed and others that remained the same, for me the change in the terminology of the dual paradigm did not represent any paradigm shift in the official policy of the Afrikaner government. If anything, the name change entrenched the duality discourse under the guise of a terminology that had international acceptability. The renaming had no liberal substance; it was like giving a new label to an old product.

The new development programmes Sharp refers to could not be received with any fanfare because those for whom the programmes were intended did not benefit from them. The real beneficiaries were the 'experts' who were involved in the development.

For instance, A T Fischer, in his article, "Whose development? The politics of development and the development of politics in South Africa" (1988:123), says that like elsewhere, the dualism paradigm in South Africa provided the pretext for external intervention in the 'third world', in order to overcome the development 'obstacle' of traditional culture. He goes on to say:

> South Africa has followed the rest of the world in the multiplication of experts who are involved in development: at present there are agriculturalists, agricultural economists, economists, development specialists, urban and regional planners, social workers and constitutional experts, all involved in the state departments or state-mobilized institutions which deal in development (1988:126).

For Fischer, development which is initiated by the state, centrally planned and dominated by state ideology is problematic for it is frequently an important mechanism by which the state attempts to exert control over its people. The black population of South Africa has been subjected to this kind of 'development' since the 1930s. He says that South Africa's development shares structural and procedural similarities with development elsewhere.

> The state proceeds with unusual determination to implement its racial policies through development programs. These have involved massive interventions, including the large-scale relocation of people. Such interventions met with widespread rural resistance, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s, as understandable reaction to the centrally planned development which demonstrated extreme disregard for the people who fell victim to its implementation (Fischer, 1988:126).

Fischer says that in a global context the notion that there is a developed 'first world' and a 'third world' in need of development justifies the actions of powerful and rich nations to bring about 'self-sustained growth' in the poor nations and improve the quality of life or provide for the 'basic needs' of the world's poor. In South Africa this dualist interpretation is used to characterise socio-economic realities within a single country and supplies the basic premise for development interventions by the state (1988: 126).

In addition, four essays, by South African scholars, which were published in the *South African Theatre Journal* (Special Issue: South African Film and Television), have a bearing on the dual world metaphor and the 'struggle' which was a reaction to the system that created conditions which gave rise to the dualist paradigm in South Africa. Moreover, such essays also refer to many of the films selected for this study.

For instance, Lesley Marx's journal article entitled "Underworld RSA" (1996:11) explores the American gangster genre into South African films like *Mapantsula* (1988) and *Wheels and Deals* (1991). Marx acknowledges that though there is a logic of the relationship of the gangster to the city, the origins of the gangster is the ghetto, the slum area, which, partly, is responsible for the character of the gangster. The two areas, the city, and the ghetto, resonate with the dichotomy which exists in the conditions that are described by the dual world metaphor for 'first world-third world'.

The two films that Marx explores are very similar in nature in that they both deal with the same topic, gangsterism. Yet, in other ways the films are different. For instance, while *Mapantsula* is rooted in the 'struggle' to free blacks from the conditions created by the system of apartheid, which gave rise to the dual world metaphor, *Wheels and Deals* is a gangster film with political implications.

In a way, the duality of crime and politics, which is the theme of *Mapantsula*, is also reflected in *Wheels and Deals*. For instance, Shabantu, an aspiring politician, who is campaigning for a Parliamentary seat, is also a vicious gangster who must have precisely the kind of cars he orders, whatever the cost. Even if the owners have to be murdered.

Whereas in *Mapantsula*, the hero, Panic, is a poor gangster who becomes politicised in order for him to be acceptable member of his community; Shabantu is a rich gangster who is striving to be a politician in order for him to be acceptable and respectable in his community. But the existence of the dual world for rich and poor is a palpable reality in both *Mapantsula* and *Wheels and Deals*.

The difference is that in *Mapantsula* the diversity is based on race, which is institutionalised by apartheid. It is whites that are rich and blacks that are poor. Yet, in *Wheels and Deals* the class distinction exists among blacks. Soweto is portrayed as a jungle where the fittest will survive; Chippa, the union leader, and Shabantu, the gangster leader, are such survivors.

Though Chippa is not a gangster, and therefore does not live by crooked means, he is a survivor; he makes the right choices because he remains calm, no matter what the circumstances are. Observe how he stands back and absorbs attacks from a 'hotheaded' young unionist, BT, before BT got involved in the car theft 'trade'. In addition, due to Chippa's calm way of thinking, he manages to win the trust of BT's girlfriend, Elsina, the union lawyer.

On the other hand, Shabantu survives by impersonation. Firstly, he masquerades as a businessman, then he wants to be known as a politician, but he makes his money as a leader

of gangsters who steal cars. Unlike BT, who stole just about any car, Shabantu is interested in the latest models.

Like people in the 'third world' who work hard but earn next to nothing, BT is the one who actually did the stealing of cars, but he is paid very little, Shabantu is like the 'first world' that survives by exploitation.

The essay which perhaps directly reflects the issues that are related to the discourse of the dual world metaphor is Edwin Hees's essay, "Foregrounding the Background: Landscape and ideology in some South African films" (1996:63). Using South African films, Hees demonstrates the historical allocation of space along racial categories in South Africa, first, by segregation, and later, by apartheid.

Hees's illustration of the symbolic use of space in the films as an expression of white South African perceptions of the position, status, culture and identity of black people, confirms the socio-economic dichotomy in the areas occupied by whites versus areas where blacks lived, which were mirrored in the dual world discourse.

Hees explores several South African films; while some are discussed in detail, others are used as points of reference. In his exploration, issues of race are linked to allocation of space and social mobility. For instance, in *Springbok* (1976), when the star rugby player discovered he is 'coloured', he leaves his white girlfriend to go back to the 'coloured township'. During apartheid, many 'coloureds' applied to be reclassified white; those who were successful could move into white areas and marry across the 'colour line', thereby joining whites in the developed areas of South Africa.

However, films like *African Jim*, *Cry, the Beloved Country* and *Come Back, Africa* demonstrate that white fear of black urbanisation influenced the institution of various restrictions on the movement of rural blacks to the cities of South Africa. Key among such restrictions was the Pass laws.

Another important point in Hees's argument is that some filmmakers did 'image creating', which was effectively a creation of reality rather than a reflection of reality, such as in *De Voortrekkers* (1916), which was a film aimed at Afrikaner nation-building.

> Facts do not speak for themselves, but require a socially acceptable narrative to absorb, sustain and circulate them. In this context the point could be made even more forcefully: the discourse creates the reality in a power relationship; it does not merely reflect the reality (Hees, 1996:67).

Jeanne Prinsloo's essay, "South African films in flux: Thoughts on changes in the politics of identity in recent film productions" (1996:31) investigates the politics of identity and notions of nationhood within a genre of South African films she categorised as political South African films. Prinsloo's analysis of cinema in South Africa begins with the confirmation that film, as a metropolitan import, prioritises a view which is Eurocentric in that it is informed by the project of enlightenment. According to such a view, invasion, imperialism, colonialism and chauvinist intrusions are natural.

Moreover, the European discourse of Enlightenment was key in creating conditions in Africa and in Europe, expressed by the dual world metaphor for 'first world-third world'. It was in line with such discourse that a minority government maintained racist power in South Africa for decades longer than in most other countries. Prinsloo maintains that oppositional cinema, in South Africa was a response to racial inequalities which were institutionalised by apartheid, and the discourse of nationhood that prioritised the interests of whites.

She says debates in the late 1980s anticipated transition and introduced different emphases, which continued in the problematic post-transition period. It was in such debates that issues of Third Cinema were raised in opposition to First Cinema.

> Questions of race are fundamental to these discourses and are located within the unequal power relations produce between the metropole and periphery, north and south, or first and third world ... Third Cinema is conceived of as participatory and contributive to the struggles for liberation of the people of the Third World (Prinsloo, 1996:33).

She does not agree with certain aspects of Teshome Gabariel's definition of Third Cinema, "For South Africa, the broad definition offered by Grabriel enabled activist filmmakers to shared an anti-apartheid stance and an assumption of solidarity" (1996:33). By adopting an anti-apartheid stance and assuming solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa, the

activist filmmakers were actually rejecting the dualist system and affirming togetherness with those oppressed by the dualist system.

However, unlike Prinsloo who believes that film viewers "relate significantly to entertainment, and not to intellectually and societally provocative texts", Gabriel, in his book, *Third Cinema in the Third World: The Aesthetics of Liberation* (1982), criticises South African films whose main focus is entertainment. Gabriel says that is why such films are made in a technically seamless Hollywood style that induces "pleasure and excitement".

Prinsloo is not opposed to Gariel's definition of Third World Cinema, her concern appears to be the practicality of Gabriel's theoretical framework as far as entertainment is concerned. People all over the world love entertainment, hence people flock in to see American films regardless of their opposition to the ideology that drives the American film undustry. In that sense, Gabriel's criticism of the entertainment aspect of filmmaking is impractical.

Like Prinsloo and Gabriel, in their book, *Arab and African Film Making* (1991), Roy Armes and Lizbeth Malkmus's critical analysis of African films is done from a standpoint that adopts a bipolar distinction between Western films and African films. Such a standpoint reflects the dualist paradigm of 'first world-third world'.

In her article, "The (black) male gaze: Mbongeni Ngema's *Sarafina*" (1996:85), Colette Guldimann, analysing the film, *Sarafina* (1992), investigates the role of black women in the political struggle to dismantle apartheid. As was mentioned earlier, the political struggle to disrupt apartheid was a response to the racism and political oppression, which hatched the conditions that are defined by the dual world metaphor in South Africa. *Sarafina* is one of the films selected for discussion in Chapter 5 of this study. Though Guldimann criticises what appears to be the film's view that violence is OK for men but not so for women, she welcomes the view that by adopting a non-violent stance, women can achieve more for the 'struggle'.

David Coplan's book, *In Township Tonight: South Africa's Black City Music and Theartre* (1985) is an inquiry into how the urban popular cultures of black South Africans survived, and even subverted apartheid. In spite of the repressive system of apartheid, urban blacks

such as Muriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Abdullah Ibrahim, Letta Mbuli, Caiphus Semenya, Zakes Mokae became popular international stars. By becoming successful international artists after leaving the restrictive conditions of apartheid, the artists mentioned above exposed the fallacy that blacks were underdeveloped because of their traditional methods which were outdated and ineffective because such artists were competing on an international stage with artists from the 'first world'. What was case outdated and ineffective was apartheid because it could not stop such artists from developing their talent, in South Africa before going overseas.

When such artists left South Africa to explore their talents overseas, and became successful, they were actually transcending the limitations of the 'third world' conditions they were subjected to in South Africa by apartheid. Many other black artists who did not go into exile became popular household names such as Dolly Rathebe, Winston Mankunku Ngozi, John Kani, Winston Ntshona, the jazz Maniacs, Darkcity Sisters, Mahotella Queens, etc.

Peter Davis' book, *In Darkest Hollywood* (1996), looks into the history of the development of cinema in South Africa, and its relationship to Western cinema. He says:

> What happened in South Africa happened all over Africa. The placing of Africans on the cinema screen reflected their dispossession, for their loss of political power on the field of battle determined their sitting in the field of focus: they forfeited the right to appear centre-screen. That position was reserved for white heroes and heroines (1996:3).

The main focus of Davis's book is on the images of black South Africans that were created by white filmmakers, and presented as reflecting 'reality'. How, what he calls the 'image-bank' changed or significantly failed to change during this century. What political impact such images on blacks, and what did they reveal about those who created and continue to create the images. Davis says that when Africans appeared on the screen, it was as adjuncts to whites, "In that role, they told us more about whites – how whites saw themselves, how they re-invented and re-enacted mythologies of white supremacy" (1996:3).

Davis says that throughout Africa, in countries ruled by French or English or Portuguese colonial powers, Africa was deliberately blocked from access to the technology of cinema. "This was a political decision on the part of the colonial authorities, who recognized the

enormous power of cinema to influence and propagandise, and who wanted to retain that power for themselves" (1996:3).

Davis says that even after many African countries had acquired independence in the 1960s, European countries like France, retained their influence of domination over the newly liberated people by offering them 'conditional' assistance in filmmaking.

The images, which white South African filmmakers created in their films, were similar to the images, which Europeans created about black Africans in other African countries outside South Africa. Such images entrenched the superiority of whites over black Africans.

Frank Ukadike's book, *Black African Cinema* (1994), explores the value of African traditional cultures and Western cultures that were imported into Africa during colonialism, and how both cultures survived under the emerging national cultures of independent African states. He says: "Under colonial domination, new values initiated by Western ideologies were introduced into African life, and under neo-colonialism, Africa struggled – and is still struggling – to develop distinct national cultures" (1994:22)

Ukadike's exploration of black African traditional cultures in terms of how they were influenced by Western cultures, which were imported into Africa by colonialism, is relevant to my thesis in that it illustrates the total assumption of superiority by Europeans. Hence, many black Africans adopted European cultures because they believed that such cultures were superior to black African cultures.

Analysing the development of national identities of former European colonies, Roy Armes, in his essay, "Cultures and National Identity", says,

> The nationalist did not seek to revive a traditional form of society or to mobilize mass support for the independence movement in terms of ethnic identity – denigrated by as 'tribalism' by the colonizers. Instead, their ambition was to create a modern state, using concepts of democracy, elections, and political parties borrowed from the West. Even the underlying democratic definition of 'one man, one vote' conceals a concept of Western origin: individualism (1995:26).

Armes says that the modern nationalism introduced in 'third world' countries has shown the same dynamism as other social and cultural forms derived from the West, but it has done

nothing to remedy the elite's inevitable limitations as a force for development and progress (1995:26).

The dual world discourse blamed the underdevelopment of black Africans on traditional methods which were outdated and ineffective, but even when black African actually adopt modern nationalism based on democracy and Western cultures, but that does not empower the new governments to take charge of their own national development. The rich countries of the 'first world' continue sending their 'experts' to be in charge of interventionist programmes for development. Hence, the dual world system is a metaphor for domination of the 'third world' by the 'first world'.

Linking the concepts of conquest, enslavement and colonization, in his essay, "Framing the 'Black' in Black Diasporic Cinemas", Michael T. Martin says that conquest, enslavement and colonization were the basis of the distinctly Eurocentrist conception and mythological reconstruction of race, culture and world history. Though such concept were not fully articulated in colonialist discourses until the second half of the nineteenth century, as the essential legitimation of impirial policies and practices. According to Martin, blacks were dispossessed of the virtues Europeans appropriated as uniquely their own.

> The corollary of this dehistoricized ideological deformation was that blacks were unable to evolve and progress from traditional and unchanging world, in the absence of the European. This culturally anti-universalist doctrine, simplified here, was central feature of the Euro-hegemony (1995:6).

Martin says that racial differences were not circumstantial, but decisive to the formation of capitalism, precisely because racial and cultural distinctions were the basis upon which to establish the more specific social legitimisation of colonialism and slavery (1995:6).

He associates the expansion of capitalism on a world-scale in the late fifteenth to nineteenth centuries with the huge international migration of people from one geographical site to another. However, later migrations in the twentieth century were markedly different in magnitude, composition, pervasiveness and trajectory towards the 'first world'. Such migrations, according to Martin, were influenced by a search for labour, refugee movements and the establishment of settlements.

CHAPTER 3

WESTERN CAPITALISM VERSUS AFRICAN SOCIALISM

Due to the variegated, multilayered and transnational dimensions of the interpretations of the terms 'capitalism' and 'socialism', they are used cautiously in this chapter to refer to their economic association with individualism and group participation. However, the dualist concept of 'first world-third world', which is the main focus of this study, is a Western historical formation of the capitalist world order. As a Western invention the cinema, when it was introduced to Africa, brought with it an ideology which advanced a Western point of view about Africa and Africans. Such a perception treated Africa and Africans as exotic and radically different from and inferior to the West and its peoples.

For Peter Davis the literature of empire that had come into being during the nineteenth century found a second wind in the cinema when films such as *King Solomon's Mines* (1937), Prester John (1920), *Stanley and Livingstone* (1939), *Rhodes of Africa* (1936), *Trader Horn* (1930), *Symbol of Sacrifice* (1918), *Sanders of the River* (1935), *Untamed* (1955), *Zulu* (1964), *Zulu Dawn* (1980), and *Out of Africa* (1985) were made in the twentieth century.

Such films gave a distorted representation of Africans and Africa; similar films were made all over Africa, and that prompted Ousmane Sembene to say, "In a word, Europeans often have a conception of Africa that is not ours" (1970:41). In that context film entrenched the duality paradigm of 'first world-third world', north and south, rich and poor, metropolis and periphery.

> South Africa shares certain concerns with other African and southern countries. Film was developed in the northern countries of America and Europe. It is a metropolitan import accompanied by unequal power relations ... Viewers were offered particular and restricted representations and constructions of the 'world' ... a determinedly Eurocentric view of the world (Prinsloo, 1996:31).

Such were the images that were shown of South African blacks in the films made in South Africa at the beginning of the twentieth century, like *De Voortrekkers* (1916). Referring to Western filmmaking and the images it portrayed of Africa and Africans, Peter Davis says,

> The invention of cinema at a time when imperialism reached its apex amounted to what was in effect a second conquest of Africa, not merely in the acquisition of images, but in the way these images were presented (1996:2).

The French in francophone West African countries made similar films from the 1930's to the early 1960's. The French referred to such films as *le cinéma colonial.* Commenting on those films, Steven Ungar says:

> Alongside other accounts and media ranging from fiction and the press to painting, advertising and photography, the moving picture images of what has come to be known as *le cinéma colonial* produced a fascination with exotic otherness visible in the success of commercial features (Ungar,1996:35).

De Voortrekkers demonstrates very vividly the bi-polar distinction characterized by the dual world metaphor for 'first world-third world'. It is clear that white filmmakers in South Africa were also articulating an opinion, which was founded on the Western ideology, which viewed blacks as radically different, inferior and inadequately equipped to withstand the military might of the whites. "The films represent, in other words, a clear instance of identity being defined in terms of opposition" (Hees, 1996:63). Whites had guns and blacks had spears. Whites were few and blacks were many. Large groups of fatally wounded black warriors were falling on top of each other from the relentless gunfire by the white forces. This was a clear demonstration of the superiority of the military equipment of the white army.

But what such films seldom showed was that sometimes the black armies won battles against white troops. For instance, one of the most memorable battles that blacks won was the Battle of Isandlwana, 1849, which was an undeniable humiliation of the British legion by the Zulu armed forces. The Battle of Isandlwana is the main theme of the film *Zulu* (1964). It also marked the superior fighting strategy of Chief Langalibalele, who led his warriors against the supposedly sophisticated British military force. According to Edwin Hees,

> South African films made before the 1980s took virtually no account whatsoever of perspectives on the history of black people in South Africa, except as it impinged on the history of whites and hence it was, almost by definition, represented and interpreted from a white historical point of view and in terms of white needs (Hees, 1996:63-64).

In addition, blacks resented the way whites presented the past of black Africans. Blacks wrote plays, novels, short stories and poetry expressing their dislike of the way their past was presented by Europeans and whites in South Africa. For instance, in his essay "African Attitudes to the Europeans" (1945), South African writer, H. I. E. Dhlomo, defines "the new African" as a modern, urban figure opposed to European versions of the African past (Driver, 1996:99).

In effect, what the imposed images of Africa was doing was to promote ignorance about Africa in Africa and overseas. For instance, Sarah Maldoror, who made the film *Sambizanga* (1972), which is a reflection of the liberation struggle in Angola against Portuguese imperialism, says that the people in the rural areas of Angola had no idea at all about the meaning of independence because the Portuguese prevented the spread of any information and debate on the subject. "They even prevented the people from living according to their traditional culture ...To make a film is to take a position, when I take a position, I am educating people" (Maldoror, 1996:46).

The pioneers of black African filmmaking in Africa are not different from the pioneers of African literature, who were also rebellious against the misrepresentation of Africa and the Africans by the European writers of novels and other literatures. For instance, Kole Omotoso says that Chinua Achebe began his writing career to do battle

with writers who were misrepresenting Africa and Africans in the novels of Africa (Omotoso, 1996:142). The misrepresentations of reality and images in the literature and the films of Westerners was part of the dual world discourse which was articulated in terms of race and, later, cultures.

As African filmmaking has a special relationship with African literature, African filmmaking is also generally viewed as being oppositional to Western forms of filmmaking. However, oppositional filmmaking in Africa criticized more than just the Western forms and their aesthetic styles of filmmaking; it opposed all oppressive forms of African government, the excesses of African traditions and the prioritization of commercialism over commitment to content. Jacqueline Maingard's definition of oppositional film,

> An oppositional film need not be limited to the area of 'Cultural resistance' but, in addition, may document or offer directions for any form of resistance to the dominant social order. That an oppositional film should impact on cultural resistance is the base line (1991:5).

Referring to the mistrust by many Africans of the new black governments that took over from the colonial governments, Jonathan Haynes says that black Africans have reason to be distrustful of post-modernism, post-colonialism as another foreign regime that tends to compromise crucial projects (Haynes, 1999:21). And Roy Armes give the reason for such mistrust:

> ... in moving into the position of the colonial administration, the elite takes on the same subservient role vise-a-visa the Western metropolitan centers, for ultimate power in this structure of government rests not within the colonial state itself, but in the metropolis (Armes, 1995:26).

To many blacks films like *De Voortrekkers* were seen as attempting to validate distorted historical accounts, such as the one that blacks arrived in South Africa almost at the same time as whites. However, historical evidence, which remained for a long time hidden from any black probe, refutes such misrepresentation of historical facts. For instance, according to archeological evidence, which was kept secretly for many years in the history archives of the University of Pretoria, there was a black

African civilization in South Africa as early as the twelfth century. Such civilization was known as *Maphunguve*, literally meaning, "drink to your heart's content". Information about *Maphunguve*, which was released by the ANC, refutes the myth of the simultaneous arrival of blacks and whites in South Africa. The denial by whites in South Africa that the existence of blacks in South Africa by far preceded the arrival of whites is the reason that many blacks believed that white South Africans wanted a South Africa without blacks.

The misrepresentation of the history of Africans by white filmmakers in South Africa, besides causing many blacks to conclude that whites wanted a South Africa without blacks, also made blacks realize that whites resisted any South African association with the rest of the African continent.

In African countries outside South Africa films were portraying various forms of racist treatment of blacks by whites and an open denigration of everything about blacks, including their cultures. As such, the films left a very strong impression that they were part of a plan, which aimed at replacing African cultures with Western cultures. Commenting on the films made by whites about Africa and the Africans, Med Hondo, says:

> This cinema has gradually imposed itself on a set of dominated peoples, with no means of protecting their cultures. These peoples have been systematically invaded by diverse, cleverly articulated cinematographic products. The ideologies of these products never 'represent' their personality, their collective or private way of life, their cultural codes or, of course, the least reflection of their specific 'art', their way of thinking, or communication – in a word, their own history... their civilization (In Bakari & Cham, 1996:39).

As I mentioned at the begining of this chapter, Western capitalism which drives filmmaking in the West is part of a Western ideology which is essentially individualistic and promotes a Eurocentric world view. A different world view existed in Africa, which was linked to African socialism, which is people-centred or group oriented. Due to many elements of African cultures with a particular kind of people-centredness such as *ubuntu*, African cultures have been associated with socialism. *Ubuntu* is an African social concept, which regards human beings as equal and

interdependent. It is better defined in terms such as the Zulu saying, "*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*"; literally translated this means a human being is who he/she is because of other human beings. The closest English equivalent is "No man is an island" or "An injury to one, is an injury to all". According to Mbigi and Maree (1995:1-2) *ubuntu* is a metaphor for the significance of group solidarity and the survival of African communities, which, to avoid poverty and deprivation, had to rely on group associations rather than individual self-reliance schemes. They say,

> The cardinal belief of ubuntu is that a man can only be a man through others. In its most fundamental sense ubuntu stands for personhood and human morality. The key values of which are: group solidarity, conformity, compassion, respect, human dignity and collective unity" (Mbigi & Maree, 1995:2).

However, the practice of the culture of *ubuntu* is today almost extinct. It can only be found in African proverbs, myths, folk tales and some traditional cultures. For instance, there is a Xhosa proverb, which says, "*Inkomo yenqoma yintseng'ingibheka*", which means that when someone lends you a cow to milk, you do so while at the same time you make the means to buy your own. For, with or without notice, the owner would come and claim it back. In essence, the proverb is a confirmation of the spirit of *ubuntu*, which made it the responsibility of the rich to take care of the poor. But the act of caring for the poor was meant to help the poor to help themselves rather than to create dependency. The emphasis of the proverb, therefore, was on sharing. The ones who have should share with those who do not have.

A Sotho folk song concerned with the lack of *Ubuntu* among whites says,

Magoa, Magoa, Magoa ha ana "botho" …

Literally translated, it means,

The whites, the whites, the whites do not have any humanity …

The Sotho people, unlike other Southern African blacks, called the whites *magoa,* which is an old Sotho term meaning, "the greedy ones". Greed was defined in terms of not being satisfied with what one gets. When the whites arrived in South Africa, as

was the case with their arrival elsewhere in Africa, they had no land. However, because no one individual owned land, land was under communal ownership. Whites were also allocated land by the various chiefs, who were the custodians of land, for they owned land on behalf of the people; but unlike blacks, whites kept asking for more land. That is why the Sotho people called them *magoa*.

Unlike the liberal humanism of the West, which prioritises individualism, Africa's socialism encouraged group association. However, such socialism was different from the socialism that was propagated by Karl Marx in that it did not discourage the existence of a class system of society. Marx believed that the notion of a primitive communist society was once a reality and that it functioned on the basis of an organic fusion of the individual with the society. The socialism he envisaged, in addition to promoting a classless society, involved the restoration of an organic societal fusion, the foundation of which would be the highest modern technique and full development of productive forces.

> As a result of the struggles against imperialism and oppression by black Africans in South Africa and in other African countries, African socialism adopted a revolutionary ideology, modelled on African solidarity. For instance, in the nineteenth century there was a spate of protest literature throughout Africa highlighting the plight of the black man (Dathorne, 1974:3).

Besides the selective depiction and distortion of the history of Africa, Western filmmakers were focusing on the ease with which blacks were adopting Western cultures. As a result, there was a vigorous attempt to discredit African cultures. Commenting on such abuse of African cultures by Western filmmakers, Adegboyega Arulogun, a Nigerian scholar states:

> In 1956, some African students at the Delhi University complained about Hollywood's distortions of Africa. In response, the Indian Central Board of Film Censors banned eight foreign films on Africa. Six of these were American: *Snows of Kilimanjaro*, *Below the Sahara*, *Mogambo*, *Tanganyika*, *African Adventure* and *Untamed*. The other two, *The African Queen* and *West of Zanzibar* were British. Those were the various ways by which America has used the film medium to disparage the African (Arulogun, 1979:27)

The humiliation which African cultures suffered because of the films made by white filmmakers caused black African filmmakers, after the independence of African countries in 1960, to devote their art to restoring the dignity of African cultures. African filmmakers made films, which promoted traditional African cultures.

An example of such films is Gaston Kabore's *Wend Kuuni* [God's Gift] (1982), which is about the prosperity which existed in Africa before the arrival of whites. The film is important because it subverts the Western discourse of domination that suggests that the poverty of the 'third world' countries is a result of their traditionalist methods. Such methods are accused of being outdated and inefficient. According to the narrator at the beginning of the film, the story takes place in the time of the Mossi Empire, long before the arrival of the white man in Burkina Faso. There was splendour, much grain, enough water and no hunger. All lived in peace and in good health.

However, other films attacked the excesses of African traditions; these included films such as *Tilai* [The law] (1990), by Idrissa Ouedraogo, *Neria* (1992) by Godwin Mawuru and *Xala* [The Curse] (1974) by Ousmane Sembene. While both *Tilai* and *Xala* are about the abuse of polygamy, *Neria* is about the abuse of the African tradition of wife inheritance. But *Xala* is also an attack on neocolonialism, especially dysfunctional African governments, which are a product of neocolonialism.

According to Ukadike, the first African film was released in 1955, it was a short film, *Afrique sur Seine* [Africa on the Seine]. It was made by a group of African students in Paris, led by Paulin Soumanou Vieyra of Senegal (Ukadike, 1994:68). In 1961 Vieyra released a documentary which he directed, *Une nation est nee* [A Nation is Born]. The documentary was a twenty-minute commentary celebrating Senegal's first anniversary of its independence (Ukadike, 1994:69).

However, films dealing with African cultures were also among the first films made by West African filmmakers. For instance, in 1962 Mustapha Alassane of Niger directed *Aoure* [The Wedding] in which he focused on traditional African cultures from the

point of view of an African family. In the same year Djibril Kouyate, from Mali, directed *Le retour de Tieman* [The Return of Tieman], which is a study of the latest methods of African farming. Referring to the importance of culture, Amilcar Cabral says:

> The value of culture as an element of resistance to foreign domination lies in the fact that culture is the vigorous manifestation on the ideological plane of the physical and historical reality of that society that is dominated or to be dominated. Culture is simultaneously the fruit of a people's history and a determinant of history, by the positive and negative influence it exerts on the evolution of relationships between man and his environment, among men or groups of men within a society, as well as differing societies (Cabral, 1970:8).

The assumption that Western films imported to Africa brought with them an ideology that promoted a Western point of view about the Africans and the rest of the world appears to be validated by, and especially, the Tarzan films. The narratives of such films articulated the inferiority of African people and their cultures. As such, the films endorsed the bipolar distinction represented by the dualist paradigm of 'first world-third world'. Between 1940 and 1960 Hollywood produced at least 67 Tarzan films (Cameron, K.M. 1994:191).

The Tarzan films were portraying whites as being superior to blacks who were shown to be either bloodthirsty savages or stupid beings who catered to the needs of Tarzan. To drive the point home, Tarzan's monkey was often portrayed as being cleverer than than the blacks who were subjugated by Tarzan. Though Tarzan was alone with his monkey in the jungle and blacks were many, he always won in any battle. This was a replay of colonialism. As such the Tarzan films were a catalyst to the dualist system. The impression created by such films, which still persists in the minds of some Americans, was that Africa was a massive and dangerous jungle and Africans were warlike savages who lived in that jungle with wild animals.

The presence of Tarzan in Africa left the impression that it was up to the whites to save Africans from self-destruction and eventual extinction by delivering Western civilization to Africans. Tarzan, therefore, sometimes appeared to win the friendship and sympathy of some of the Africans, who helped him to find his way around the

jungle and to fight his attackers, the African savages. In terms of the dual world metaphor, this was a demonstration of white superiority and black traditionalism which was perceived as the source of the inferiority of blacks.

But even those blacks he managed to save from their own savagery were portrayed as inferior, not only to Tarzan but to his monkey as well. Whereas the monkey appeared to understand and communicated with Tarzan, the Africans struggled to make sense of what Tarzan wanted them to do and the Africans could not make Tarzan understand them. Triumphantly, the monkey would yell and jump around with excitement every time it pleased Tarzan.

Kenneth M. Cameron disagrees that the making of such Western films had anything to do with conscious political decisions, which encouraged the denigration of Africa or the Africans. Cameron says:

> The reason for the very large disproportion in American jungle archetypes and iconography probably lies, then, not in a conscious conspiracy to perpetuate racism, but in the counter-driven American movie industry. Suffice to say here that nobody in power gave a damn about their content so long as the cheapies turned a profit (Cameron, 1994:186-7).

To give Cameron's statement the benefit of the doubt, if the making of the Tarzan films was not based on a conscious decision, which would therefore mean they were not political, Cameron has to admit that the making of such films was ideological. There was already a mind-set in the US about Africa and the Africans, which dates from the time of slavery.

At the same time one has to bear in mind that the denial that Hollywood films are political is not new. In the introduction to his book, *In Darkest Hollywood* (1996), Peter Davis says, "This book is about the power of cinema, and about the devastating impact of a generic 'Hollywood' that is constantly protesting that it is apolitical, even while it stamps stereotypes and projects behaviour that is as profoundly political as it is influential" (1996:4).

Moreover, Davis says that the fact that people all over the world flocked to see American films was a personal choice. "But it does not stop me from believing that American films have had a devastating effect on human behaviour" (1996:4).

However, after 1960 there was a significant reduction in the production of the Tarzan films. That period was marked by the intensification of the activities of the civil rights movement such as sit-ins by blacks in 'whites only' facilities and protest marches. Other significant political developments among African Americans were the strengthening of revolutionary movements such as the Black Panther and the rise of radical personalities such as Malcolm X of the Nation of Islam. Contrary to Martin Luther King's concept of passive resistance, which encouraged American blacks to "turn the other cheek", Malcolm X's revolutionary message, which had gained momentum in the late fifties, was for African Americans to "take what is rightfully yours".

By the end of the 1950s the number of white Americans who supported the civil rights movement, led by Martin Luther King, had substantially increased. On 28 August 1963, blacks and whites marched hand-in-hand to the tune of "We Shall Overcome!" at the March to Washington. It is therefore likely that the popularity of the civil rights movement among black and white Americans towards the end of the fifties, coupled with the avalanche of independence for African countries in the 1960s, (in 1960 more than fifteen African countries obtained their independence), had a disabling effect on the production of racist films in America. Hence, before the end of 1960s, Hollywood stopped producing Tarzan films.

In conclusion this chapter has concentrated on a small but relevant aspect of filmmaking. It has also dealt with the influence of Western ideology of liberal humanism, which drives capitalism.

The following chapter will focus on the dual world metaphor as an image of the socio-economic conditions created by apartheid, institutionalised racial inequalities and the discourse of race.

CHAPTER 4

THE DUAL WORLD METAPHOR

The 'first world-third world' segregationist discourse in South Africa was used as a justification for white domination. This dual world metaphor is an image of the racial disparities in the socio-economic conditions of the 'first world' segment, comprised mainly of whites who live in the cities, perceived to represent the dynamo which kept the country going in spite of the dead weight of the other (black) sector, whose traditionalist methods were inefficient and had kept it in a backward condition.

The dualist paradigm is pervasive throughout the world; it is a metaphor for conquest, enslavement, colonialism, segregation, racism, apartheid, divide-and-rule, racial discrimination, capitalism, democracy, individualism, one man-one vote, 'development', etc.

Different terms have been used to define the dualist system which has taken various forms, even democracy and its one man-one vote resonates with the individualism of liberal humanism upon which capitalism is based. Among other terms that have been applied to describe the dualist system is 'development' which refers to the relationship between the rich nations of the 'first world' or northern hemisphere which were regarded as 'developed' and the poor nations in the 'third world' or the southern hemisphere which were described as 'underdeveloped'.

However, what was called 'development' was actually a strategy for oppression and exclusion and not 'development'. In the films that will be explored, the major aspect upon which exclusion is based is traditionalism. For instance, the segregationist ideology that tribalism is a natural condition of the vast majority of blacks became the strategy to discourage black urbanisation. Ideologically, the criminality in *African Jim* and *Cry, the Beloved Country* may also be viewed as a strategy in line with segregation which southt to discourage black urbanisation by emphasising the dicadence of urban life.

For instance, a *tsotsi* who pretends to be offering assistance to Reverend Khumalo disappears with the Priest's money under the pretext he is going to get him a ticket to Sophiatown from the bus office. An old man tells the Reverend there is no bus office, "Mfundisi, you've been robbed". He accompanies the Priest to the Priest's destination, a Mission station in Sophiatown.

Likewise, Jim who has just discovered that he has lost the address tells his dilemma to a *tsotsi* who pretends to offer help. The *tsotsi* offers to take Jim to a cheap accommodation, but instead he leads Jim to a deserted area of the city where his friends assault Jim before taking off with his clothes, money and shoes. However, other films such as *Come Back, Africa* portray no such black criminality.

Though a film like *African Jim* emphasises the demarcation between the white suburbs and black communities, the fact that the main character, Jim, does not return to his rural home in KwaZulu seems to be the film's acceptance of the presence of blacks in the city.

In addition, by demonstrating the naiveté of rural blacks in the cities, *African Jim*, like *Cry, the Beloved Country*, are in fact emphasising the innocence which segregation attempts to associate with rural village life. For instance, when Jim in *African Jim* and Reverend Khumalo, in *Cry, the Beloved Country*, arrive in Johannesburg, the

sequence in both films establishes the two men as bewildered outsiders in the city. Their bewilderment attracts the attention of *tsotsis* who lie in wait for such a prey.

However, *African Jim* appears to take the notion of the alienation of rural blacks a step further than *Cry, the Beloved Country*. In the scene after Jim's employer decides to remove Jim from his gardening job to transfer him into a housekeeping job, while cleaning the floors, Jim listens to a *Xhosa* country song over the radio. Gradually Jim is attracted to the words of the song and stops working to sit and listen.

The sequence portrays images of Jim's thoughts that have nostalgically turned to the rural areas; though ideologically this is not a minor sentimental detail but Jim's redeeming feature, it is the filmmakers own stereotypical interpretation of what constitutes rural black African life. As Edwin Hees puts it, "landscape (unlike terrain) is not a natural resource – it is a 'production' of the filmmaker's ideology" (1996:76).

Moreover, the question of the supposed alienation of rural blacks in the cities is central to segregationist thinking. Senior politicians in Parliament had already defined any black person in the city from the rural areas as a temporary 'visitor', allowed to stay only as long as he catered to the white man's needs.

A conciliatory film, *Jump the Gun*, made after the inauguration of South Africa's democracy, reverses the positions of alienation of blacks in the cities with the alienation of whites. The narrative portrays a white man, Clint, not the black woman, Gugu, to feel uncomfortable and 'unsafe' in the big city of Johannesburg. For his own security, Clint acquires an illegal firearm and proposes marriage to his girlfriend who is a prostitute. But she is not interested in marriage. In addition, towards the end of the film, it is Clint who is unable to keep up with the fast life of the city and decides to leave Johannesburg without saying 'goodbye' to his girlfriend. He goes to Namibia, a place which is even more exotic than the small town of Mossel Bay from which Clint came. Gugu, who has established herself in a singing career, remains in Johannesburg.

From the verbal narrative which introduced the film, the thrust of the narrative insists on the temporariness of the stay of rural blacks in the cities. Both *African Jim* and *Cry, the Beloved Country* use a narrator to introduce their stories, the difference in the approach appears to depend on the purpose for which the narrator is used.

For instance, in *African Jim* the use of the African narrator is a powerful semiotic 'authenticating' mechanism, as a guarantee of the 'truth' of what he is saying. Whereas the English narrator in *Cry, the Beloved Country* represents the 'authoritative' voice, the voice of the 'expert'. As with the white political representatives of blacks in Parliament, the English voice is an iconic representative of the black community.

The organising principles that tribalism is a natural condition of many blacks stems from the segregationist ideology that whites need to be protected from black urbanisation. By showing segments of a bewildered rural African in the city, *Cry, the Beloved Country,* far from being a propaganda designed to support the notion that blacks are 'strangers' in South African cities, appears to be in line with a liberal view that rural blacks are out of place in the cities only on arrival. But as soon as they get used to the big city life they never want to go back to their home in the rural areas. That is the case with Gertrude who disappears the night before Reverend Khumalo is to take her along with Absolom's family back to Ndotsheni.

In addition, Reverend Khumalo's own brother, John, also from Ndotsheni, is now an established businessman and political activist for the ANC in Johannesburg and has no intention of ever returning to Ndotsheni.

The function to endorse the National Party's racism in terms of separate 'worlds' is not only represented by the conditions between the black rural areas and the cities inhabited by whites; it resonates between the squalor of townships like Sophiatown and the splendour of the leafy gardens of the white suburbs.

Moreover, there is a link between space and the ideologies of those who use such spaces. For instance, the squalor of Sophiatown is starkly represented in the scene which precedes the Court scene in *Cry, the Beloved Country* when Reverend Khumalo is searching for his son, Absolom. After the Court scene, during Reverend Khumalo's search for the daughter of Sibeko of Ndotsheni who worked for the daughter of Smith in Springs, the splendour of the well-kept gardens and the leafy surroundings in the white suburb of Springs are portrayed.

But when Reverend Khumalo inquires from Smith's daughter about what happened to Sibeko's daughter after Smith's daughter had 'fired' Sibeko's daughter, Smith's daughter says, "I don't know and I don't care!" It is in the "I don't care" that one finds the emphasis which associates white behaviour towards blacks that is in line with the segregationist ideology that blacks are in the city to serve white man's needs, and not the other way around.

In a clear demonstration of the position of power and to suppress white enxiety about the consequences of black urbanisation, the government moved blacks from Sophiatown which was near the city to Meadowlands, a township about twenty kilometres away from Sophiatown. In *Come Back, Africa*, en route to Zechariah's aunt to find accommodation for his family, Zechariah and his wife walk past many vacant plots which still have rubble to indicate the houses that have been demolished by blacks who were forced to move to Meadowlands in terms of the Group Areas Act. In *Cry, the Beloved Country* which was made in 1951 there are no such vacant plots that are evident in the 1958 film.

The mass removal of blacks is one of the factors which caused a steady decline in the economics of urban blacks. The consequences of urban impoverishment were a turn towards crime like Marumo, who rapes and murder's Zechariah's wife, in *Come Back, Africa*, Panic, who servives by pickpocketing and theft, in *Mapantsula,* and BT and Shabantu, who steal cars, in *Wheels and Deals.*

Referring to *African Jim*, Hees says that the simplistic conceptual framework of the film – a feature of segregationist, including many liberal analyses – is grounded in what are taken to be "the historical divisions of the country into white and black areas, with capitalist and pre-capitalist forms of production respectively" (1996:75).

For instance, there are clear signs of poverty which is marked by barren land, poor natural vegitation and thin domestic animals in the rural village from which Jim comes. As a result, when Jim departs for Johannesburg, one cannot help but to sense that part of the reason for his departure is to escape the palpable deprivation in the rural village.

The segregationist interpretation, which was grounded on capitalism, is the dependency of blacks on white intervention in order for blacks to earn their living. For instance, a white manager of a recording company had to mediate on behalf of Jim in order for Jim to participate in the music industry of South Africa as a recording artist. However, the deal was not different, in term of power relations, from an earlier association which Jim had with the white man who had employed him as a gardener and cleaner in his house.

But no such white intervention is necessary in the liquor selling 'trade' and activities of prostitution which Gertrude conducts in *Cry, the Beloved Country*. In *Jump the Gun*, the accountant who intervenes on behalf of Gugu in order for her to get a recording contract as a singer is a black man and not a white man.

In addition, in *Jump the Gun* it is black gangsters who are able to save Clint from paying a lot of money for a firearm by 'finding' him an unlicensed firearm for less than half the price of a second hand 9 mm.

However, what the gangsters do in *Jump the Gun* is similar to what Panic does in *Mapantsula* and BT and Shabantu do in *Wheels and Deals*. The action of the gangsters does not reflect 'progress' of urban blacks "but shift the perspective to

examine aspects of urban African experience from the vantage point of urban Africans themselves as far as this was possible within the framework of commercial filmmaking at the time" (Hees, 1996:75).

Though race as a historical contingent of the category of 'third world' locates itself in the historical processes in which it is a determining social fact, to a certain extent, perhaps a very minimum degree and certainly not for a lasting period, black leaders of gangsters like Shabantu in *Wheels and Deals* and Staggie of the Hardliving blur the socio-economic demarcation between the 'first world' conditions of whites and the 'third world' conditions of blacks. But it is not so with small and independent gangsters like Panic in *Mapantsula* or BT in *Wheels and Deals*.

The dual world metaphor, which is the image of the conditions which were created by colonial conquest, was articulated in terms of race and later, of culture and ethnicity. In South Africa the dualist system entrenched white superiority by determining the terms of nationhood or 'South Africanness'. It was responsible for the mass movement of rural blacks to the cities of South Africa in search of jobs in the 1940 an 1950. South African films such as *Cry, the Beloved Country* illustrate the mass movement of blacks from the rural area into the cities. For instance, at the beginning of the film, the hero of the film, Reverend Khumalo, receives a letter from a Reverend Msimango of Johannesburg inviting Reverend Khumalo to Johannesburg to take care of his sister, Gertrude, who is 'very sick'.

Gertrude went to Johannesburg to look for her husband who went there to look for work but did not write or return. Reverend Khumalo's brother, John, left Ndotsheni to find better living opportunities in Johannesburg.

In addition, a man who helps to carry Reverend Khumalo's suitcase to the station where the Priest is going to catch a train to Johannesburg asks the Priest to inquire about the daughter of Sibeko of Ndotsheni who went to work for the daughter of

Smith in Springs, near Johannesburg. Eversince Sibeko's daughter went to Springs, she never wrote or returned.

Moreover, a graphic depiction, through visual and verbal narration, in *Cry, the Beloved Country*, highlights the material deprivation, which drives young men and women to the cities. At the beginning of the film, describing the difference between lands owned by whites and those owned by blacks, the narrator says:

> There's a lovely road that runs from Ixopo into the hills ... These hills are grass-covered and rolling, and they are lovely beyond any singing of it ...The grass is rich and matted, you cannot see the soil. It holds the rain and the mist, and they seep into the ground, feeding the streams in every kloof ... But the rich green hills break down. They fall to the valley below, and falling changes their nature ... The great red hills stand desolate, and the earth has torn away like flesh ...Down in the valleys, women scratch the soil that is left, and the maize hardly reaches the height of a man. They are valleys of old men and old women, of mothers and children. The men are away, the young men and the girls are away. The soil cannot keep them any more.

The material struggle that drives blacks to the cities in search of job opportunities is clearly outlined here. In addition the dual world metaphor of 'first world-third world' is illustrated in very clear terms, the area where whites live consists of the most fertile land, while the area inhabited by blacks is eroded both literally and metaphorically. The literal erosion causes women to struggle to win fruit from the soil; the metaphorical erosion "cannot keep" young men and the girls any more.

Here, it is obvious that even to a liberal like Alan Paton the chauvinist intrusions continue to show their 'ugly face'. Notice the difference in the formulation, "the *young men* and the *girls* are away". Whereas a more politically appropriate formulation would have been "young men and young women".

However, the narrator is illustrating a liberal point of view about the ideology of segregation. For example, whereas there is a clear romanticizing of the pastoral

country life of blacks in the narrator's introduction to the film, *African Jim,* which is a segregationist ideology in that it is based on the perception that black urbanization is a threat to white security. The narrator says:

> This is a story of a native boy in Africa. The story of one of my brothers. His name, Jim Jabulani Twala. But people simply call him Jim. This is a country where he was born and grew to manhood. Where he lived in the freedom of the wide hills and valleys, tending the crops, heading the cattle. It was a simple name and a good life, and Jim was happy. But to many of us, there comes a time when we feel the urge to leave our villages and to travel to the cities. Often the young men go for a year, sometimes two years or even more. So that they may earn money and then return to their people and buy cattle and marry. Sometimes it is just a state of restlessness and adventure that serves them traveling. So, one day, changing into town clothes that were among his proudest possessions, Jim says goodbye to his parents and sets off to go to Johannesburg.

When the narrator says that Jim lived a good and happy life "in the freedom of the wide hills and valleys" it is a critique to urban black dwellings, which were often small and overcrowded. The message is that blacks should return to the rural areas where there is lots of space rather than remain in their crammed accommodations in the city.

More emphasis has to be put on this point, hence the narrator returns to it to say, "Often the young men go for a year, sometimes two years even more so that they may earn money and *return* to their people and buy cattle and marry". The segregationist discourse is that a permanent place for blacks is in the rural areas, city life is a transient life where blacks go to make money and *return* to the pastoral country life which is naturally designated for blacks.

The segregationist ideology also manifests itself in other ways too, such as the reference to 'a native boy in Africa', in line with the segregationist discourse that there is no black man only black boys in Africa. Notice how in *Come Back, Africa* the white madam talking about Zechariah soon after she had 'hired' Zechariah. To the person on the other side of the telephone line, she says, "Thank heavens, I got a boy at last!". Even the designation of the job Zechariah is doing is 'houseboy'.

The narrator's description of the place where Jim comes from as "This is a *country* where he was born', is a clear reference to the dualist interpretation that South Africa is made up of a combination of two worlds; one which is inhabited by whites and the other by blacks.

In addition, visual images in *Cry, the Beloved Country* and *Come Back, Africa* demonstrate the contrast that existed in the same area, Sophiatown, before and after the apartheid law, Group Areas Act, was passed in 1951. One of the major consequences of the Group Areas Act was that it allowed the government to forcibly remove massive numbers of blacks. Perhaps, at this stage mention needs to be made that *Cry, the Beloved Country* was initially published in 1949 as a novel, and in 1951, the novel was adapted into a screenplay for the film. When the film was made, therefore, Sophiatown, the only black urban area in Johannesburg then where blacks could buy and own property, was still fully inhabited.

However, by 1959, when *Come Back, Africa* was made, many vacant plots, marked by rubble mingled with rubbish, can be seen in Sophiatown in the scene where Zechariah walks with his wife to his Aunt to find accommodation for his family. They pass places where once stood houses of blacks that were forced by the new law of apartheid to move to a new black township, Meadowlands. Where as in Sophiatown blacks could buy property, in Meadowlands Blacks had to occupy government houses for which they had to pay a monthly rent without the option of buying.

The new black township was situated near the old township called Orlando, eleven kilometers south of the city of Johannesburg. Orlando was built in 1930 in accordance with the segregationist system of the 'colour bar'. Later, in that area, more townships were built to form what is today known as Soweto (South Western Townships).

In addition, in *Cry, the Beloved Country,* before the court scene, Reverend Khumalo accompanied by Reverend Msimango walks around the squalor of Sophiatown, searching for Absolom. After the court scene, Reverend Khumalo visits the house of

the daughter of Smith who employed Sibeko's daughter, in Springs, the film shows the contrast between the poverty stricken area of Sophiatown and the lush white suburbs in and around the city of Johannesburg.

The two scenes are a good example of the dual world metaphor in South Africa. Springs is a leafy area with well-kept gardens, whereas Sophiatown is neglected with very clumsy dwellings such as the one in which Reverend Msimango questions a woman about Absolom and his friends. Abigail Khubeka plays the woman. It is obvious to Reverend Msimango that the woman is not telling the truth. Once Reverend Khumalo and Reverend Msimango are outside the house, Reverend Msimango requests Reverend Khumalo to wait for him at a 'restaurant' around the corner while he is going back to question the woman again. He tells Reverend Khumalo "This is something I have to do on my own".

The main theme of *African Jim* was blacks that leave their families in the rural villages to look for work in the towns and cities of South Africa. The theme caused the creation of the 'Jim-comes-to-Jo'burg' motif, very popular in the South African literary texts and novels in the forties and fifties, especially those, which were written in African languages.

Essentially, the 'Jim-comes-to-Jo'burg' motif was an acknowledgement of a developed culture, which began when the Hut Tax was passed in 1905, when rural blacks were forced to travel to the cities of South Africa in search of job opportunities. However, often, intentionally or unintentionally, they never went back to their villages. Conditions created by the labour laws of the 'Colour Bar' such as low wages and the restriction on blacks to quit or change their jobs, to join or form trade union, made it impossible for black workers to accumulate enough wealth to go back to their rural life.

Contrary to the segregationist discourse, upon which the 'Jim-comes-to-Jo'burg' motif was based, which presumed that all black South Africans were totally out of place in

modern cities, many rural blacks wanted to be like the blacks in the cities whom they referred to as 'modern Africans'. But, to be like the 'modern Africans' blacks in the rural areas had to be in the cities.

Hence, some rural Africans went to the cities out of adventure while others went to look for better ways of survival. However, the segregationist discourse assumed that all black young men only went to work in the mines to earn money to return to their tribal homes, where they would be initiated into manhood, marry and settle into a pastoral lifestyle.

The segregationists claimed that the country lifestyle was a natural condition for all South African blacks. But, most rural blacks believed that life in the cities was good because "blacks that go to Johannesburg never write or return". Johannesburg was a metaphor for the cities of South Africa, hence the 'Jim-comes-to-Jo'burg' motif.

Like the motif of 'Jim-comes-to-Jo'burg', which had become a cultural practice by rural blacks, the notion that "blacks that go to Johannesburg never write or return" also became a cultural practice by rural blacks that went to the cities. After *African Jim* (1949), the motif of 'Jim-comes-to Jo'burg' became a recurrent manifestation in some of the subsequent films made in South Africa such as *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1951), *Come Back, Africa* (1959), and *Jump the Gun* (1996).

The four South African films are discussed in this chapter and reference is made to other films, produced elsewhere in Africa, whose themes can be associated with the 'Jim-comes-to-Jo'burg' motif. Films such as *La Noire de* [Black Girl] (1966) by Ousmane Sembene of Senegal; *Touki Bouki* [The Hyenas's Journey] (1973) by Djibril Diop Mambety of Senegal; and *Soleil'O* (1972) by Med Hondo of Mauritania. In the two Senegalese films, blacks travel either to the city of Dakar or to European capitals such as Paris, out of adventure to explore better opportunities, or due to the need for survival.

But, in *Soleil'O*, black Africans are already in Paris, where they are either employed or looking for employment. They suffer discrimination of the worst kind from white Parisians who see them as invaders who have come to steal their jobs and their women. As a result, the only jobs that are available to Africans are menial ones that the Parisians are not interested in such as sweeping the streets. Even the labour unions are not prepared to accommodate Africans.

Among themselves, black African workers find it strange that they are not accepted in Europe when Europeans are accepted and are citizens of African countries such as South Africa and Zimbabwe. Black African workers fail to understand why there is a difference between their situation and that of whites in Africa. For instance, one of the black workers says, "When Europeans could not find work in Europe they went to Africa and found jobs and never returned to Europe. Why can't we do the same here."

In some of the South African films (as well as in the two Senegalese films), the association of blacks with rural African traditional settings is clearly demonstrated. For instance, the introduction of the protagonists, Jim Jabulani Twala, in *African Jim*, and Reverend Stephen Khumalo, in *Cry, the Beloved Country*, is in a rural village, an African traditional backdrop, characterized by half-naked men and children, mud-huts, cattle, sheep, goats, horse-drawn carts, the bush, singing birds and wild animals that are running away from humans. Whereas, the leading characters, Zacharia in *Come Back, Africa* and Gugu and Clint in *Jump the Gun* are already in Johannesburg or in a train approaching Johannesburg's down station when the audience/spectator encounters them for the first time.

Perhaps, it is because *Come Back, Africa* and *Jump the Gun* were made for different reasons from those for which *African Jim* and *Cry, the Beloved Country* were made. *Come Back, Africa*, was clandestinely made by American Lionel Rogosin to expose the devastating labour conditions of blacks in South Africa. Whereas, *Jump the Gun*, was a collaboration project between the liberal British Channel Four and South Africa's only pay channel, M-Net. The film was made to reflect the new constitution

of South Africa, which recognizes the equality of humans and the right to equal opportunity.

In addition, in *Jump the Gun*, Gugu, the black woman who is co-starring with Clint, comes from Durban, another major city in South Africa. While Clint, a white male comes from Mossel Bay, a rural town in the Southern Cape. But neither Durban nor Mossel Bay is shown in the film, they are referred to in the narration. Similarly, Natal, where Zacharia comes from in *Come Back, Africa,* is not seen and thus exists only as a perception.

The attention, which *African Jim* and *Cry, the Beloved Country* give to the rural background is significant considering that the segregationist discourse dominated the politics of the forties and fifties. In addition, a note at the beginning of *African Jim* says, "This is a simple film and its quaint mixture of the naive and the sophisticated is a true reflection of the African native in a modern city". For instance, in *African Jim*, Jim sings about his rural home when the guitar man who meets Jim in Johannesburg asks him to sing a song.

In addition, a song Jim listens to over the radio when he is cleaning the floor of his employer triggers in him nostalgic memories of country life. But the images which are reflected on the screen, such as antelopes running in the wilderness and half naked boys giving chase and throwing sticks and stones at them, are a figment of the white filmmaker's imagination about what constitutes African country life. They are part of the segregationist ideology that attempted to encourage urban blacks to return to the rural villages was in response of the fear of black urbanization among whites. Moreover, such images are what Peter Davis refers to in his writing when he says,

> My principal concern is with the image-bank relating to South Africa, especially the way that black South Africans have been presented on film, how image-bank changed (or significantly failed to change) during this century, what impact this may be presumed to have had, and what it reveals about those who created and continue to create, the images. Because of what has happened in South Africa during this century, this has had implications that are profoundly political (1996:4).

Though Jim's boss has been standing next to Jim as Jim listens to the country song instead of working, but Jim did not notice his boss's presence, so engrossed was he in the country song. Eventually, Jim is expelled from his job for failing to attend to his duty. Though Jim finds another job and does not go back to his rural home, Reverend Khumalo in *Cry, the Beloved Country*, returns to the rural village of Ndotsheni after spending time in Johannesburg.

The segregationist system which used the Pass laws to maintain the main racial divide interpreted by the dual world paradigm, gave permission to remain in the city only to those black Africans who were employed by whites. Effectively, blacks in the urban areas were allowed to remain there to fulfill the white man's needs. The pass laws treated all blacks that were not employed by whites as criminals. Such blacks were arrested and sent to farms owned by whites to serve their sentences as farm labourers, or they were sent back to the villages they came from.

In *Come Back, Africa* after several movements from one job to another, Zechariah, aware of his fate if he remains out of employment pre-empts what will happen to him when he tells his wife, "I am tired of this place, and I don't want to be in Johannesburg any more. I want to go back home." A few words of encouragement from his wife cause him to try to find a job, once more.

Zechariah's situation demonstrates the dependency on white employers which was created by the dualist system. Though in the South African context, the dependency was in a way mutual, whites depended on black labour and blacks depended on white employment, it was an artificially created dependency. Such dependency is not different from the dependency of 'third world' countries like African countries on Western countries.

For instance, while African countries are the producers of mineral and agricultural products they depend on Western countries to buy such products. But the dualist paradigm has structured the buying and selling in such a way that it takes place on

Western terms. It is Western markets which set the prices of such products, after manufacturing them, the West sells such good back to 'third world' countries at huge prices.

The dependency is biased to favour Western countries. Similarly, the dependency on black labour in South Africa was and still is controlled by whites. It is whites that decide how much they are going to pay for the services of black workers. It is also whites that decide when such services are no longer needed. That was the source of Zechariah's frustration in *Come Back, Africa*.

The African workers who travelled to European cities also faced a similar fate, they were hired and fired whenever their white employers decided it was necessary to do so. For instance, John, the main character in *Soleil'O,* would answer an advert only to be told that the employer has moved away or the position has been filled. But, in fact the main reason was not hired is that John is black and the employer is looking for a white worker. However, the advertisement could not mention the race that was needed because there was no apartheid in Europe, racism was not institutionalised like in South Africa.

Moreover, though there were no Pass laws in Europe, the Europeans knew how to make black Africans feel they are not welcome.

Though *African Jim* does not reflect any aspects of the pass laws, during the shooting of *African Jim*, Dolly Rathebe, who co-starred with Daniel Adnewmah, featuring as Jim, was arrested in Johannesburg for "not carrying a special pass". Before 1950, all black South African women who lived in the cities were forced to carry a special pass, but after 1951, apartheid forced them to carry passes like black men. After Dolly spent a night in jail, she appeared in a Native Commissioner's Court in Fordsburg where she was fined 15s (or three weeks in jail). Though she was an accomplished jazz artist and an actress, the court docket described her as a domestic worker (*In Darkest Hollywood* [doc.], 1993).

The other leading character, Jim, comes from a rural village in Natal to visit his relatives in Johannesburg. But, when he arrives at Johannesburg's down station, he discovers that he has lost the address. A *tsotsie* who pretends to offer help, leads him to other *tsotsies* and they rob Jim of his clothes and money. However, a friendly night watchman helps Jim to find a job to enable him to pay for accommodation, living expenses and to save some for a train ticket back home.

As a result, Jim first works as a gardener and later as a waiter in a club, which showcases black cabaret artists. It is also here where Jim finds the opportunity to explore his singing talent. A manager of a recording company offers Jim a recording contract, and Jim accepts.

Other films made elsewhere in Africa with themes that can be associated with the 'Jim-comes-to-Jo'burg' motif are *Touki Bouki, La Noire de*, and *Soleil'O.* The first two films were produced in Senegal and, the third film, though produced in France, was made by a Mauritanian. Details of all three films were provided earlier. In addition, like the heroes of *African Jim*, Jim Twala, *Cry, the Beloved Country*, Reverend Stephen Khumalo and Zechariah in *Come Back, Africa*, Mouri in *Touki Bouki*, emerges from the rural background.

But unlike Zechariah, Mouri is not looking for work when he arrives in the city of Dakar. He has come to Dakar to make money through mischievous ways such as stealing, cheating, robbing, gambling and prostitution. Mouri's dream is for him and his girlfriend, Anta, to travel to Paris. He believes there's a better life awaiting them in France.

Whereas Diuoana, the hero of *La Noire de* is already in the city when the film begins, she lives and works in Dakar. She looks after her white mistress's children. The mistress and her husband have decided to return to France. They ask Diuoana to come along with them. After consulting her mother, Diuoana is excited at the prospect of a new life in Paris. She follows her mistress to France.

When *Touki Bouki* and *La Noire de* were made, it was against a cultural background marked by the escape of many young African adults from their countries in the sixties and seventies. However, such a culture was not confined to Senegal or to West African countries only, it was a developing culture in most African regions, particularly in East African countries such as Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Uganda and Kenya. Favourite destinations were the major cities of Europe, US and Canada, where the escapees applied for asylum as political refugees.

Such a culture came about as a result of the disappointment, which followed the euphoria of African independence in the late fifties and early sixties. Many African countries acquired their independence during that period. However, the failure of the newly elected black governments to fulfill voters' expectations of social, political and economic relief convinced many young black African adults that their only salvation from poverty was a new life in Europe, America or Canada. Levels of poverty and poor health conditions had worsened after independence. Generally in Africa, political independence was characterized by corruption and mismanagement of state funds by both politicians and government officials.

The situation had led to the degeneration of the standards of living among blacks, such as lack of jobs, poor housing, improper health care, a lower standard of education and inadequate facilities. The fleeing multitudes of young black African men and women relied on unconventional means of traveling such as stowaway, walking, or using false documents and "safe" routes, to get to chosen destinations in Europe, America or Canada.

A "safe" route for refugees from East Africa to destinations in the Scandinavian countries such as Norway, Denmark and Sweden was Yemen, Budapest, Moscow, Finland or East Berlin, where escapees would acquire visas and continue to Ystad, to apply for political asylum to either remain in Sweden or move to Denmark or Norway. For those who were going to the US or Canada, their "safe" route was Yemen, Belgrade, Cuba, the US or Canada. Alternatively they would travel to Iran, Austria, the US or Canada.

The international migration of Africans in the 1960s and 1970s was a consequence of the cumulative effects of the continuing economic deterioration of the 'third world', which began during the European expansion between 1400 and 1900. Referring to this aspect of history, Michael T. Martin says,

> Declining economic conditions have put enormous pressure on some governments in the Third World to adopt policies that encourage the outward migration of pupulations to those areas of the world economy where there is demand for low-wage labour (1995:7&8).

Though the quest for survival was the main pulse for black Africans to travel to Eurpean cities, other Africans went to Europe out of curiosity. For instance, in *Touki Bouki*, Mouri wants to explore life in Paris with his girlfriend, Anta. He puts his and Anta's life at risk by the mischief he and Anta commit to raise enough money to realize his dream of a better life in one of the capitals of Europe. However, at the end of the film, armed with traveling tickets, he and later Anta, abandon plans to sail in the ocean liner they had earlier boarded to travel to Paris.

Though Diouana in *La Noire de* has managed to get to Paris, because of the miserable and inhuman treatment meted to her by her mistress and her husband, including restricting her to their flat and preventing her from communicating with her mother or anyone else outside their flat, she commits suicide by drowning herself in her bath.

The decision of the young black African men and women to travel to European and American destinations came out of a determination to change their own condition. Such a decision was caused by the realization of the futility of hoping and waiting for change to happen in their home countries. Their attitude gave rise to the discourse that black Africans were incapable of development. That Africa's development depended on 'outside' guidance of development agencies, specifically from the 'first world' such as the World Bank of the International Monitory Fund (IMF).

Those young African escapees of the sixties and seventies were aware that the kind of change that was needed was not 'cosmetic' change to make things better, but radical change to make things different. The culture, which they developed, was therefore similar to the culture, which the rural young African black adults who traveled to the cities of South Africa in the forties and early fifties had initiated for the rural black communities of South Africa.

'Third world' conditions in the rural areas of South Africa, which were caused by the segregationist discourse, demonstrate the dispossession and neglected of rural blacks. Such conditions drove young black men and women to the cities, in search of job opportunities. Though, in many cases, the intention to go to the cities was to look for the means of supporting themselves and their families in the rural villages, conditions of labour, which black rural workers faced in the cities, such as low wages, restriction to quit or change jobs, to strike, join or form trade unions and to bring their families to the cities where they worked made it difficult to fulfill such intentions.

Confronted by such frustrating situations, many rural black workers chose to abandon their families in the countryside. Hence, it was common knowledge to rural blacks that "Those who go to Johannesburg never wrote or returned". That is also what Reverend Khumalo in *Cry, the Beloved Country* tells his wife when they discuss the situation of his sister, Gertrude, who went to Johannesburg to look for her husband who went there to look for work and never wrote or returned.

When Gertrude went to look for her husband, she herself never wrote or returned. As a result, Reverend Khumalo's son, Absolom, went to Johannesburg to look for Gertrude. But, like his aunt, Absolom never wrote or returned. At the beginning of the film, Reverend Khumalo receives a letter from Reverend Msimango of the Christian Mission Church in Sophiatown, near Johannesburg, asking Reverend Khumalo to come to Johannesburg because Gertrude is very sick. Though the letter makes no mention of Absolom, Reverend Khumalo promises his wife that he will also find out about Absolom when he gets to Johannesburg.

While waiting for his train to Johannesburg, Reverend Khumalo learns about another person who went to Johannesburg and never wrote or returned. The man who helped to carry Reverend Khumalo's suitcase to the station, gives Reverend Khumalo an address in Springs, near Johannesburg, and asks him to look for the daughter of Sibeko of Ixopo, who is now working for the daughter of Smith in Springs. Though it has been two years since Sibeko's daughter left, she has not written or come back. Previously, Sibeko's daughter worked for Smith's daughter in Ixopo, where Smith owns a farm.

To demonstrate that rural people seldom or never receive letters from their relatives who have moved to the cities, when Reverend Khumalo received the letter, which tells him that Gertrude is sick, he hesitates to open it, his wife says,

- How we desire such a letter, and when it comes, we fear to open it.

He says:

- Who is afraid? Open it.

She opens it, not him, but she does.

However, in *Come Back, Africa,* Zechariah writes to his wife, who he left in their village in Natal. In the letter, Zechariah describes the conditions of employment in the mines of Johannesburg. He tells his wife that he is happy with neither the pay nor the conditions at the mines, especially because of overcrowding, there is no privacy; many men are crammed together in one compound. He says that is why he would prefer to work in Johannesburg city. But for him to make that change, he needs money.

He asks his wife to sell two of their cattle and send the money to him in order to pay for the changes he plans to be introduced in his passbook to enable him to get permission to find work outside the mines. Though he misses his wife and children,

there is no privacy and the law does not allow him to live with his family in the compound.

As a film that belongs to the social realist category, the aesthetics of *Come Back, Africa* and Cry, the Beloved Country are based on the importance of content rather than an attractive artistic form such as the kind found in commercially-oriented films like *Zonk* (1950). Moreover, *Cry, the Beloved Country* shares many of the ideological points of departure of *Come Back, Africa*. The material content of both films is based on a social concern. Though Rogosin was an American, his film differs radically from the usual Hollywood style films, which conform to the capitalist liberal humanism that favours a happy ending.

There is no happy ending in *Come Back, Africa*. Towards the end of the film, while Zechariah is in jail for a pass offence, Zechariah's principal enemy, Marumo, rapes and strangles Zechariah's wife to death. Themes, which are often pursued in the social realism category, include the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, rural exodus, etc.

Zechariah's case illustrates the absurdity of the conditions of employment for rural black workers in the cities of South Africa. Though, as an unemployed person, Zechariah's wife should expect money from her employed husband, it is Zechariah who is asking her to send money to him. In his letter to his wife, Zechariah asks his wife to sell two of his cows and send the money to him in the mines of Johannesburg. Zechariah needs the money to pay for changes, which he needs to introduce in his passbook to allow him to find work in the city of Johannesburg, which he hopes will have better pay and working conditions.

However, after moving from one job to another, it becomes clear to Zechariah that it is not only black workers in the mines that suffer from bad conditions of employment, but that, generally, white employers give lousy pay to black workers and treat such

workers with contempt. For instance, the white woman who employs Zechariah as a cook and a domestic worker asks him,

- What's your name?
- Zechariah!
- Zechariah won't do, I'll call you Jake.

Judged from the political context of the segregationist discourse within which whites assumed superiority over blacks, the name Jake is not just a simple case of an inconvenient imposition, but also the illustration of the political desire of whites to possess and control blacks completely. By changing Zechariah's name to Jake, the white madam engages Zechariah, the person, in an ideological power play to asserted ownership of the person for total control. As such, the new name, Jake, becomes a political inscription that symbolizes oppression.

In addition, the name, Jake, imposes a new identity on Zechariah the person. If Zechariah's employer preferred a shorter name, she could have called him Zech, which is easier to pronounce than the full name, but more importantly it does not alter the man's actual name. To Zechariah, the name Zechariah is subjective, altering the name reduces it to the objectivity "it" rather than retaining its subjectivity "him".

Hence, soon after the madam has renamed Zechariah, to the person on the phone, the madam says, "Thank heavens, I got a boy at last!" The man Zechariah that was transformed to Jake, is no longer a man, but a boy. Of course, if he can respond to any name imposed on him, he can accept any classification of him. He can be anything, including the thing, "it".

All such transformations are happening while Zechariah is still standing at the white madam's doorway. Before he is permitted to enter his white employer's house. However, now that Zechariah's transformation is complete, the madam lays down the ground rules by which 'Jake' will have to abide:

- I don't want any girls in your room, because that's against the law.

Understand?

- Yes, Madam.
- And no liquor because I don't want any trouble with the police.
- Yes, Madam.
- I don't mind you having one friend in your room, but I don't want crowds of natives here. Alright?

However, a misunderstanding between Zechariah and his boss almost cost Zechariah his job. His employer asks him to clean all the pots and he obeys. But, later the madam says,

- Jake what did you do with the mushroom soup?
- What is a soup ... what? What?
- The soup I had in the pot here.
- The something that was in the pot?
- Yes!
- I threw it out.
- You threw it out?
- Yes Madam.
- But, don't be silly, how could you do a thing like that? Are you sure?
- Sure!
- Where's the pot?
- Here's the pot.
- Oh Jake! You idiot, that was the mushroom soup. Why did you do a thing like that?
- But you told me to wash the pot.
- Couldn't you see it was food? Oh man! How idiotic can you get?

She runs to her husband to report the matter.

- I told him to clean the pots and he thinks they are slops, now how can he be so idiotic.
- Well, they do look like slops to him ...
- I don't think they look like slops. He's just stupid. Jan, you've got to get rid of him; he's just no good. He'll never learn.
- No, not again. I can't go to the pass office every day to get you a houseboy. He'll learn, darling, he'll learn ... I don't think you're treating this chap Jake quite right.
- You're too soft!
- No, I think there's something wrong with our approach to them. They are only simple country natives who come here completely inexperienced, don't know the first thing about electricity or rooms. And you treat them as if they must cook mushroom soup!
- These people are uncivilized. If you could have seen the way that boy looked at me in the kitchen. For two pence, he would have slit my throat. I tell you something, they are just savages, savages!

However, Zechariah does not survive his next assignment. Asked to clean his employer's room, Zechariah discovers a bottle of whisky and takes a couple of swings and refills the bottle with water. He turns on the radio and dances to a favourite tune. He picks up a scarf on the bed and uses it as his dancing partner. Before the tune is over, the madam arrives and Zechariah is summarily dismissed.

In *Cry, the Beloved Country*, during the time he spends in Johannesburg, Reverend Khumalo remembers to look for Sibeko's daughter who worked for Smith's daughter in Springs. On inquiry, he learns from Smith's daughters that at the time Sibeko's daughter worked for Smith's daughter, Sibeko's daughter was arrested for selling liquor illegally.

Upon her release from jail, Smith's daughter expelled Sibeko's daughter from her work because she now had a criminal record. Asked whether she knows what happened to Sibeko's daughter thereafter, Smith's daughter says, "I don't know what happened to her and I don't care!"

The significance of the "... and I don't care" part of Smith's daughter's response is that, besides indicating the contempt with which most white employers treated black workers, it is in line with how whites were expected to behave when confronted with the 'colour bar' system. In order for South African whites to be acceptable members of their society, they were expected to close their mind to the nuances and implications of the 'colour bar'.

By showing that they did not care how the system affected blacks, whites were actually demonstrating solidarity with such a system, the purpose of which was to uplift the social and economic standard of whites in South Africa. But, if any white person indicated concern with the way the system affected blacks, such whites were perceived by other whites to be betraying the system.

In addition, because her mind is closed to the consequences of the 'colour bar', it does not occur to Smith's daughter that the low wages she pays Sibeko's daughter caused her to sell liquor illegally to supplement her meager income. 'colour bar' prevented blacks to buy or sell liquor. The law continued during the apartheid years until 1966 when blacks were allowed to buy liquor but they still could not trade in it. The law that gave them the right to trade in liquor was introduced much later.

For the reason that the 'Color Bar' expected whites to close their mind to abuses of blacks by the system, many blacks found fault with *Cry, the Beloved Country.* While the film portrays the system of justice in South Africa as being efficient by convicting and punishing the murderer, Absolom, the film fails to ascribe responsibility to the system, which created the conditions that led to the murder.

In the narrative, Absolom, accompanied by two other youngsters, broke into the house of a Johannesburg philanthropist, Arthur Jarvis, with the intention to rob. However, during the robbery, Jarvis surprises them and Absolom fires a shot, which fatally wounds Jarvis. Absolom is arrested, charged and convicted of murder.

In another job as an assistant motorcar mechanic, Zechariah is dismissed because he participated in a stay away strike organized by the African National Congress. He arrives home to find his wife and children waiting for him. Though he is happy to see his family, he is worried that he has lost his job and he tells his wife. She, in turn, explains that severe drought, theft of two of their cattle and a falling house forced her to leave their home in rural Natal to join him in Johannesburg.

Due to low wages and hostile working and living conditions, black African workers in the capitals of Europe, like the rural black workers in the cities of South Africa, do not write or return to their families in Africa. For instance, in *Touki Bouki*, a discussion between a vegetable vendor and her customer demonstrates this scenario. The vegetable vendor says,

- I am losing my head. That postman is hiding something from me. No letters from France. My son doesn't write.
- France, nothing good come from it ... ask our marabouts to bring your son back.
- But he went off to study.

Though the vendor's son went to France to study and not to work, his behaviour is not different from that of those who went to work in France. Like them, he does not write or return. And, the vegetable vendor's friend is not surprised. In fact, she is convinced that it will be impossible for the vegetable vendor's son to return to Senegal. Hence, she suggests to her friend to appeal to the marabouts of Senegal, to bring her son back by divination.

The technical similarity between *Touki Bouki* and *Soleil'O* is that there is no continuity editing in either film, the editing lack cohesion so that the narrative in both films is fragmented, the two films use dialectic montage, forcing spectators to participate actively in the process of the film, often without realising they were participating. However, unlike Touki Bouki, there is no narrative and no linear chronological pattern in *Soleil'O*, and that allows Med Hondo to explore various topical issues related to immigrant workers, particularly Africans, in the capitals of Europe.

Throughout the film, there is a series of connotative motifs such as the suitcase, which John, the central character, carries from time to time. The suitcase is pasted with names of many African countries and their national flags, giving the impression that whenever John carries the suitcase he represents Africans generally from the continent.

Similarly, when John passes the suitcase over to somebody else, that person takes over the responsibility of acting as the envoy for Africans in Europe. Such motifs replace the narrative voice to relate to the audience vital information of the character's past and present life. The motifs are also a comment on the social, political and economic conditions of the African workers.

But, other times Hondo relies on the technique of using interviews to reveal details of complex circumstances related to African immigrants generally and to African workers in particular. In one such interview, John asks a French industrial psychologist about the purpose of subjecting prospective immigrant workers, particularly Africans, to taking aptitude tests. In his response, the industrial psychologist says,

- It is crucial to be able to select individuals who are able to see things as we do. Who are able to think as we do. Capable of retaining, of absorbing, yes, of absorbing words as we do. And above all, of giving them the same meaning. And so, there will soon be millions of whitewashed

> blacks. Whitewashed and economically enslaved. Slaves but civilized slaves ... I believe some screening should be done before they leave Africa. That would indicate their potential for development.

Image, demonstrates that many black Africans, in different parts of Paris, do menial jobs like sweeping the streets of the city. John asks the industrial psychologist why black African workers were not getting skilled jobs in the capitals of Europe. The psychologist says,

- Our continent is constantly evolving towards a form of bourgeois society. This also applies to many sectors of the working classes. And so our citizens are abandoning the most unpleasant jobs. Well, somebody has to do such jobs.

The film also illustrates how Europeans, especially the old and middle-aged ones, fear that soon Africans will swamp Europe. Graffiti such as: "Black Invasion" and "Beware of the Black-Arab Peril" is written on public buildings in Paris. Though it appears that love relationships across the colour line are socially taboo, many mixed couples are seen sitting together in city parks or holding hands along the by-ways and highways of the big city, generally known as the city of love. However, such scenes caused eyes to be raised and heads to turn, especially those of old and middle-aged white folks. The same bewilderment was noticed whenever white women were seen carrying brown babies.

In a city restaurant, commenting on such situations, a conversation between two white male friends in the forties, one says to the other,

- I tell you, in hundred years, our descendants will all be black.
- Maybe even sooner!

As for the employment situation, there is more hostility towards African workers in some major cities of Europe than in others. For instance, workers who were on strike in Gothenburg, Sweden, in which students and teachers also participated, money was collected and sent to Paris in support of a similar strike action by workers in that city. However, the organizers of the workers' strike in Paris tell the Swedish delegation that delivers the money that their workers do not need any financial assistance from outside France.

- Our workers need nothing, least of all money. The Union has seen to it that the strikers will be able to hold on for another month.
- What about the immigrant workers?
- They are in a more difficult position, of course. But, they've left the factories. We've lost track of them.
- Even so, you can take this money and give it to them later.
- We do not account for them.

By offering to donate the money towards the immigrant workers on strike in Paris, the Swedish delegation demonstrates more consideration for the striking immigrant workers than the Parisian organizers of the workers' strike. In addition, it is significant that the Paris Workers' Union only catered for the financial needs of the French strikers and not for the striking immigrant workers.

Such a bias may mean that the Union does not value the participation of the immigrant workers in the strike. If that is the case, it may mean that the fact that the immigrants are foreigners and are mostly doing menial labour causes the Union to regard the immigrant workers as unworthy workers. But, when the organizers of the strike refuse to accept the money offered by the Swedish delegation on behalf of the immigrants, it becomes clear that the French workers have no interest at all in the problems of the immigrant workers. The refusal of the organizers of the strike to accept the money on behalf of the immigrant workers is like adding insult to injury.

However, the employment situation was not the only struggle African immigrant workers had to deal with. For instance, there were many cases of Africans who were held as sex slaves or servants without pay. Young African men and women fell prey to this practice because they were looking for security. Many young and old European men and women took advantage of the situation by offering such young men and women marriage proposals and jobs.

But once they went along with the arrangement they discovered that it was not what they were made to believe it would be. However, many of such cases went unreported but others were. In addition, the European media were not over zealous to pursue such matter that is why there were very few reports of such incidents in the mass media.

When Sembene made *La Noire de* [Black Girl] (1966) it was to highlight the activities of slavery perpetrated against young black African men and women by Europeans in the homes in Europe. Such activities were almost never reported to either the police or the mass media. Though Diuoana, the hero of *La Noire de* and the character Black Girl was not a sex slave, she was definitely an unpaid servant, therefore a slave. Eventually, she worked not only without pay but also without food in her stomach. And, that is when she decided to commit suicide. She told herself, "My mistress does not only want a slave, but one that does not eat". Instead of becoming that kind of slave, Diuoana chose to be a "dead slave".

In Senegal and other francophone West African states, success depends on the ability to read and write French. The ability to speak French is also the means by which intelligence is measured. However, Diuoana cannot speak, read or write French. She can only understand it. Due to her inability to communicate in French, her mistress and her husband believe that Diuoana is stupid. However, her mistress, whose children Diuoana is taking care of in Dakar, asks Diuoana to go along with her to Paris, where Diuoana would continue looking after her mistress's children. After sorting the permission of her mother, Diuoana follows her mistress to Paris.

Though Diuoana could not take her lover along with her to Paris, she promises him she will 'stay in touch'. She cannot change her mind about going, as she is too eager to see Paris and experience first hand the glory of the 'city of love'. Before leaving Dakar, Diuoana has bright dreams about Paris and tells her boyfriend what she thinks Paris will look like.

Yet, upon arrival in Paris, the only bright moment, practically and figuratively, Diuoana experiences, is the suburban area she passes on her way from the Paris International Airport with her mistress's husband who has come to fetch her from the airport. Her mistress's flat is on the outskirts of the city. Cinematographically too, the shots of the journey from the airport to Diuoana's mistress's flat are the only colour shots we, the audience see in the whole of this black and white film. Figuratively, the rest of the black and white film prefigures the ultimate gloom when Diuoana takes her own life towards the end of the film.

The colour shots, therefore, mark Diuoana's last moments of delight because from the time she arrives at her mistress's flat she never experiences happiness again. She is not allowed to leave her mistress's flat or to communicate with anyone nor write or receive letters from her mother in Dakar. She does not speak even to her mistress or her husband because they do not speak her language nor she theirs. They yell at her when they are angry and she retreats to her room in silent protest.

Initially, Diuoana's frustration is a result of her mistress demand that she should do household chores, which she is not used to such as cooking and cleaning the house. Her terms of employment were to look after her mistress's children. She enjoyed looking after the children in Dakar that is why she agreed to come to Paris to continue the same duty. But she does not tend the children any more. She does not know what happened to them because they are not living with their parents in the flat.

Eventually, Diuoana discovers that her mistress has sent the children to a boarding school. Diuoana was therefore persuaded to come to Paris under a false pretext. When

white people speak, they speak with a forked tongue. In her attempt to find a suitable perspective for her situation, Diuoana tells herself, "For me, France is the kitchen, the living room, the bathroom and my bedroom." And, with utter disgust, she inquires, "Where are the people of this country?"

As Diouana's frustration grows, her master decides a letter from Diouana's mother will cheer Diouana up. He reads Diouana a letter, which he wrote himself and pretends it comes from Diouana's mother in Dakar, Senegal. However, rather than bring her joy, the letter causes Diuoana more distress and compulsive repulsion towards her master, and, by extension, his wife. She can tell from the sentiments expressed in the letter that the author is not her mother.

But Diuoana's master and her mistress do not suspect that Diuoana can tell that the letter is not from her mother. The husband and wife are convinced that Diuoana is stupid because she does not speak French. For the same reason, they make her work without pay. Though she is not paid, Diuoana works and does not complain. However, when Diuoana's mistress refuses to give Diuoana food, Diuoana commits suicide.

Diuoana's suicide may be viewed as an act of desperation, but it is also a defiance campaign, which militates against the abuse of her human rights. For instance, left with no alternative means of escape, by ending her own life, she is exercising the choice of either continuing to live and be exploited by the white couple or end her life to deny the abusive couple the opportunity to subject her to any further inhuman suffering.

In conclusion, by creating conditions of underdevelopment in the rural areas, which were mentioned in chapter 1 and at the beginning of this chapter, the segregationist discourse was counter acting its own claim that blacks in South Africa were naturally suited to the pastoral lifestyle in the rural villages. If the segregationist discourse were truly convinced that blacks were naturally suited to such rural lifestyle, one would

expect the segregationist discourse to have stimulated the socio-economic development of the lives of rural blacks.

However, rather than encourage rural blacks to remain in the rural areas, the conditions of non-development or underdevelopment, which the segregationist discourse created in the rural villages, were the major force, which drove rural blacks to the cities in search of better survival opportunities such as jobs. In addition, besides providing a fertile ground for cheap labour, the abundance of black job seekers in the cities created a dependency of whites on black lobour, which was counter productive to the objective of the segregationist discourse to permanently separate the black race from the white race in South Africa.

Contrary to the claim by the segregationist discourse that all blacks in South Africa have a natural affinity with the pastoral lifestyle of a rural village, in *Come Back, Africa*, images of how blacks celebrate life in cities like Johannesburg, prove that in spite of their meager earnings, blacks lived life in the cities to the full. For instance, the film shows pictures of young boys entertaining crowds in the city with penny whistle music to the thrill of both black and white spectators; narrative depictions of many groups of penny whistle boys are captured in almost every street corner in Sophiatown; there are also scenes of black men and women who drink beer, discuss current affairs and sing in liquor selling outlets of Sophiatown, known as shebeens.

Some men are participating in traditional cultural song and dance activities, while others engage in church festivities, marching through the streets of Sophiatown, singing and punching their bibles. On Saturdays, crowds of black men and women attend social functions such as wedding parties or film shows. At such occasions, many well-dressed black men and women are display the latest fashion designs.

> Watching films at city theatres was one of the most important outings for friends, families and lovers. It is also where blacks, which favoured American films, observed and copied the latest clothing fashions and dressing styles. As a result, some blacks would order clothes and shoes from American fashion houses in cities like New York and Chicago, which they would call "can't get" because such items were not available in South Africa (*In Darkest Hollywood*, 1993).

Not only were South African blacks impressed with the way Americans dressed, they were also keen followers of American music, especially jazz. In cities like Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban, blacks formed jazz bands, including big bands, which played African jazz, which was modeled along American jazz.

For instance, in films such as *Pondo Story* (1948), *African Jim* (1949) and *Zonk* (1950), black South African jazz artists feature in big bands. Therefore, though many blacks were driven to the cities by the need for survival, and, in spite of their meager wages and salaries, there was no doubt that many blacks were at home in big cities like Johannesburg.

The quest for survival was by far the biggest drive for rural blacks to the cities. For instance, when Zechariah's wife traveled with her children from the rural Natal to join Zechariah in Johannesburg it was because life in the rural area was becoming unbearable for her. She tells Zechariah that their neighbour stole two of Zechariah's cattle and their house was falling.

She had no money to have the house fixed. Zechariah does not blame her for leaving the house in the village because he is familiar with the conditions she was describing; especially worrying for him was the issue of cattle theft, which he knew could have far reaching consequences, such as faction fights. Many people died in the rural areas in battles over stolen cattle.

However, Zechariah does not want his wife to look for employment; she must look after their children at home. But, in spite of his objections, she finds a job in the city as a sleep-in domestic. She does not return to the country lifestyle she was born into. Neither does he. Like him, she came to Johannesburg to work.

When he is unable to find work, Zechariah gets frustrated and threatens to return to the village. On one such occasion, Zechariah tells his wife, "I am tired of this place. I don't want to be in Johannesburg any more. I want to go back home." However, Zechariah's wife calms him down and encourages him to go on looking for another job.

On the other hand, Jim, in *African Jim*, came to Johannesburg out of curiosity to explore the city. He planned to return to the village soon thereafter. However, circumstances beyond his control forced Jim to stay in Johannesburg. Firstly, he lost the address of his Johannesburg relatives, who were going to show him Johannesburg. Secondly, he was robbed of everything including his clothes, money and shoes.

For survival, Jim was forced to look for work. He was employed first as a gardener cum cleaner in a private house, then as a waiter in a club that hosts cabaret artists. It is there that Jim discovered his singing talent. Later, a manager for a recording company offers him a recording contract, which established Jim as a jazz singer.

Jim's is not only a classic case of a 'Jim-comes-to-Jo'burg' but his is also an example of the rural African who goes to Johannesburg and never writes or returns to his family in the village. Jim is also a survivor; he pulls through various hostile situations to eventually become a successful singer in Johannesburg. For instance, after losing his money, clothes and shoes to robbers, he goes barefoot to his first job as a gardener and house cleaner.

And, after he is 'fired' from his gardening and house-cleaning job, where he was listening to a country song on the radio and day-dreaming about country life, he watches a game of dice, learns by observation, stealthily picks up a coin belonging to one of the players, joins the game and wins. With the money he won, he buys himself clothes and a pair of shoes. He can even afford a present, a radio, for the 'night watchman' who helped him find the gardening job.

The night watchman's daughter, Dolly, who performs at 'Club Ingoma', which hosts cabaret artists, introduces Jim to the club manager who employs Jim as a waiter. During a song, which Dolly sings, Jim accompanies her and they become singing partners. The manager of a recording company hears Jim singing and offers him a recording contract, which Jim accepts.

However, Jim recognizes that the recording manager is the man who had expelled him from his gardening and cleaning job earlier and Jim apologizes for the floppy behaviour that led to his expulsion. And, the white man assures Jim that he would not hold that incident against Jim, it is a bygone and it will be forgotten.

Ideologically the new relationship between Jim and the recording company manager is not different from their old relationship, for it still establishes Jim as depending on the white man for his survival. Though, economically, the new dependency benefits Jim and the white manager more than the earlier one, politically, the relationship sustains a racial division that was caused by the segregationist discourse, where the survival of blacks that are financially poor, depends on the mercy of whites, which are economically developed.

During a conversation among the three men who had robbed him of his clothes and money, Jim overhears the men planning to rob the place where his 'night watchman' friend works. But, as a result of Jim's intervention, Jim's night watchman friend and other watchmen arrest all three robbers and severely beat them.

Zechariah's wife, in *Come Back, Africa*, came to Johannesburg to be with her husband, find work and send their children to school for a better future. However, while Zechariah is in jail, serving a sentence for a pass offence, Marumo, the notorious local thug and 'jailbird' who once had an argument with Zechariah, rapes and murders Zechariah's wife. Yet, in one of the shebeen discussions, Can Themba, a former Drum magazine journalist, acting as Can Themba in *Come Back, Africa*, says,

- Don't blame Marumo; blame the system which produced people like Marumo. I grew up with Marumo and he was a sweet kid. But he was not satisfied with small things; he wanted bigger things in life. When he could not get what he wanted, he was frustrated and acted out of desperation. That's when he got in trouble with the law.

What Can Themba appears to suggest is that because the system of the 'Colour Bar' and, later, apartheid, was not designed to accommodate for the socio-economic advancement of ambitious blacks, it destroyed blacks like Marumo for their self-assertiveness.

Another black that suffered a similar fate, as Marumo, is Gertrude in *Cry, the Beloved Country.* Though Gertrude, like Zechariah's wife in *Come Back, Africa,* came to Johannesburg to find her husband who went there to look for work, unlike Zechariah's wife, Gertrude did not find her husband. In addition, unlike Zechariah's wife, Gertrude was not prepared to work for a white boss.

She preferred working for herself. Hence, she sold liquor and charged a fee for providing accommodation for prostitutes. However, because the system prevented blacks from trading or possessing liquor, Gertrude's business put her at loggerheads with the law. That is why she was more than once in and out of jail, which further diminished her chances of employment for it left her with a criminal record.

When Gertrude's husband left the rural village to look for work in the city, his and Gertrude's marriage was disrupted. When she went to the city to look for her husband, she was trying to salvage their marriage; instead, her own life was disrupted when she ended up with a criminal record for illegally trading in liquor. In addition, besides offering accommodation to prostitutes, Gertrude herself became a prostitute, thereby destroying her life. That is why in his letter to Reverend Khumalo, at the beginning of the film, Reverend Msimango describes Gertrude as being 'very sick'. However,

Reverend Khumalo is only able to understand the real meaning of such a reference when he is confronted by Gertrude's way of life in Johannesburg.

Many black Africans outside South Africa left their countries in search of better employment opportunities in the major cities of Europe because of regressive socio-economic conditions, which were initially the result of imperialism, but had worsened under the new black governments, which took over after independence. In addition, the great depression of the 1930s, followed by the Second World War and the acquisition of political independence, in the 1950s and 1960s, by the former European colonies in Africa, caused European countries to encourage immigrants from Third World countries, particularly Africa, to serve as cheap labour:

> In Europe, for example, the racial and ethnic formations that have evolved were forged largely by Third World immigrants who have historicallly served as a source of cheap labour in the post-war period (Martin,. 1995:9).

In the case of Britain, Sivanandan, whose argument corroborates Martin's statement, says:

> In the 1950s, a post-war labour shortage, a damaged economy and a weakening grip on its territories forced Britain to encourage people from the Caribbean, the Indian subcontinent and Africa to come here to fill manual jobs (Sivanandan, 1991:vi).

Mambety's statement becomes clear when the main characters in *Touki Bouki*, Mouri and Anta, changed their mind after acquiring their traveling tickets and Anta is already on board the ocean liner, that going to France is not a good alternative for the regressive conditions in Africa. In addition, the fact that the film begins and ends with Mouri, the head boy, patched on the back of a red bull in the village, heading a head of well-nourished cattle, appears to be a glorification of village lifestyle.

By providing images of squalor of the shantytown of Dakar immediately after showing the narrative pictures of the village and going back, at the end of the film, to the village scene, Mambety's appears to be emphasizing the contrast of the village setting to that of the shantytown of Dakar, or, as a matter of fact, any African city. In

addition, such scenes may also mean that even the squalor of the shantytowns of Africa is preferable to the mysterious lifestyle of blacks in the capitals of Europe. Hence, "Africans who go to France never write or return".

The film is replete with symbolisms and African cultural innuendos, some of which are not very clear such as the decorations in front and at the back of Mouri's bike. A bizarre set of bull's horns is mounted on the handlebars of Mouri's bike and at the back of his bike is a metal cross with complicated decorations. In a style, which is relevant to the narrative strategies of African oral tradition, some of the scenes are repeated while others do not belong to the main plot structure; they function as short and spicy digressions to heighten the curiosity of the audience, such as the debtor who runs away from creditors at the docks; or the women who are fighting at the water fountain and the man, who maintains order, trying to separate them, which can be linked to the professional wrestling tournament-taking place at the local stadium.

Generally, one of the major criticisms of black African filmmaking is that it tends to be preoccupied with the central idea, which causes it to be structurally unilateral. Referring to such structural organization of black African films, Mbye Baboucar Cham says:

> Among these is a plot characterized to a large extent by a linearity of movement from conflict to conclusion. This movement, focusing usually on one central idea, is a characteristic of most African oral narratives. The overriding preoccupation with one idea, and the urgency and clarity with which this issue needs to be conveyed to the African audience eliminate many tendency to dabble in intricate, convoluted subplots (Cham, 1984:129).

An illustration of how well tuned Mambety is with his African culture is in the discrete way he captures the lovemaking scene between Mouri and Anta. The scene begins with Anta's hand holding tightly on the cross decoration at the back of Mouri's bike. Anta's passionate mourning, accompanied by the rhythmic movement of the sea waves, which gradually increases their tempo each time they hit against the rocks, is a clear symbol of the act of lovemaking. When a huge wave suddenly roughly collides

against an equally gigantic rock, emitting a large amount of foam, followed by a weak release of Anta's grip from the cross, the metaphor of a sexual climax is undoubted.

The scene shows similarity with European "symbolist" filmmaking, Mambety is highly influenced by the French "New Wave" of 1950s and 1960s. Generally in the African cultures, it is uncharacteristic to show explicit images. For instance, Frank Ukadike, corroborating this point, says: "This well-orchestrated sequence is presented without violating the moral codes pertaining to sex within the African tradition, where indecent exposure and overt promiscuity are taboo" (1994:75).

The following chapter deals with the 'struggle' as a reaction to the dual world sytem, which was institutionalized by apartheid in South Africa. At the same time the chapter will explore how the cultures of blacks in South Africa had a persuasive impact on the 'struggle', and how the 'struggle' influenced the cultures of blacks. against for liberation from the racist and oppressive system of the 'Colour Bar', and, later, apartheid. Films such as *Mapantsula*, *A Dry White Season* and *Sarafina* are the major focus of Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

THE 'STRUGGLE', A RESPONSE TO THE DUAL WORLD SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

The segregationist discourse that in South Africa existed a combination of a 'first world' and 'third world' was an interpretation of the socio-economic misfortune of blacks, which was institutionalised by apartheid. The 'struggle' of blacks in South Africa over many years – what Peter Davis calls, 'Generations of Resistance' – was a response (after 1948) to apartheid and the institutionalised racial inequalities that entrenched the dual world metaphor, the discourse of nationhood or 'South Africanness' and race.

However, because of the way the historical development of cinema happened in South Africa, in which whites exercised complete domination and control, no feature films were made about the defiance campaigns of blacks against racism and oppression by either the system of segregation or apartheid before the Soweto unrest of 1976. That is why the Soweto unrest have become the metaphor for the political resistance of blacks against apartheid which has institutionalised the dual world system in South Africa.

Documentaries and newsreels recorded the 'struggle' before the Soweto unrest of 1976. But, unlike feature films, which are endowed with the politics of representation that make narratives socially acceptable, documentaries and newsreel simply present facts of history as they are. According to Edward Said, "Facts do not at all speak for

themselves, but require a socially acceptable narrative to absorb, sustain and circulate them (1994:254).

This chapter explores three South African films which use the 'struggle' as a background of action in the film, such as *Mapantsula* (1988) by Oliver Schmitz and Thomas Mogotlane, *A Dry White Season* (1989) by Euzhan Palcy and *Sarafina* (1992) by Darrell James Roodt.

Details of the rebellions of blacks against the system of segregation and later, apartheid, are important in that they indicate the sheer determination and the strategies of whites to create the conditions which gave rise to the dual world metaphor in South Africa. For instance, the Soweto unrest of 1976 occurred as a result of the refusal by black school children to be taught in Afrikaans as the sole medium of instruction. The demand by the Afrikaner government for blacks to be taught in Afrikaans demonstrated the arrogance of whites to assert their superiority over blacks. The dual world metaphor is a reflection of such arrogance.

Other incidents of black resistance against racism and oppression include the black national resurgence led by Chief Bambatha against the Hut Tax of 1905; the political opposition by the ANC against the promulgation of the Native Land Act of 1913; the opposition to the introduction of the pass laws in 1930; the women's march to the government's administration offices in Pretoria in 1951; the Treason Trial of ANC leaders in 1958; the Sharpeville massacre of black men, women and children by the South African police in 1960, etc.

The films I have selected demonstrate the determination of blacks to subvert apartheid. For instance, in *Mapantsula*, the main character, Panic, is not political, does not share in the solidarity of the 'struggle' and survives through petty criminal activities such as pickpocketting whites, in the city of Johannesburg. Because of the dualist system, which prioritised the interests of whites, whites earned far better salaries than blacks. It therefore benefited Panic more to rob whites rather than blacks.

The dualist interpretation of 'first world' and 'third world' is an international definition of problems that have international consequences, it has been appropriated in South Africa as a justification for white domination.

Referring to the relationship between race and capitalism, which caused the socio-economic conditions, which gave rise to the dualist system of the world, Michael T. Martin says,

> Racial differences were not circumstantial. They were decisive to the formation of capitalism, precisely because racial and cultural distinctions were the bases upon which to establish the more specific social legimitisation of colonialism and slavery (1995:6).

Though Panic does go to the white suburbs, where his girlfriend, Pat, works for a white woman as a domestic, he does not go there to do criminal activities in order for him to earn a living. Perhaps it is because most whites who live in the suburbs hide behind high security fences and have firearms. Such security measures increase the risk of black gangsters like Panic causing them to fear to 'venture' into areas inhabited by whites.

Moreover, to get to where Pat works, Panic has to travel a long distance by bus from Soweto to Pat's place of employment. The emphasis is on the distance from the poverty of Soweto to the lush and greenery of the white suburb. The white woman's house is a display of white privilege. It do not even begin to compare to Panic's shack in the backyard of Ma Modise. To enter his shack, Panic does not even need a key, a special fiddle and shake will set the door flying open. Notice the scene where Pat arrives alone to visit Panic who is not at home. In possession of a spare key to Panic's shack, Pat struggles to open the door. Sam manages to get the door open. Once inside Pat locks herself in. However, as soon as Panic arrives he does his fiddle and shake trick and the door opens up wide and Pat gets a fright.

This film (like many others) sets the contrast between the township and the garden suburb as separate racial spaces. A developed area inhabited by whites and an undeveloped or underdeveloped area occupied by blacks. Such spaces are also a consequence of the racial inequalities of apartheid. In addition, those who occupy such spaces are influenced by various ideologies.

The emphasis of Panic's bus ride to the suburbs where Pat works is a metaphor for the distance, in terms of socio-economic development, between the 'third world' conditions of the squalor of the backyard shack where Panic lives to the 'first world' conditions of the suburbs where Pat works.

At the beginning of the film Panic is travelling at the back of a police van with black political activists who are singing freedom songs. The rest of the film is an attempt to explain the reason for Panic's arrest. The film does that through flashbacks which "portray the journey into Panic's psychological past" (Marx, 1996:22).

Commenting on such flashbacks, Lesley Marx says, "The flashbacks in *Mapantsula* are implicitly Panic's ... Panic becomes the focalizer of history as a subjective experience ... These moments also suggest that remembering has a personal and a psychological value for Panic" (1996:22).

Panic's memory is where he gets his sense of injustice, hence the flashbacks become a journey towards the political development of Panic the thief. By the end of the film Panic's passive and non-committal existence has changed into a stance of political resistance which guides him to the decision to emphatically say No, to his white interrogator in prison at the end of the film. Though Panic is saying No to being a police informer, the No is also a symbol of Panic's rejection of white domination.

Throughout the film, the white policeman tries all kinds of persuasive mechanisms, including threatening to throw Panic out of an office window many floors above the ground floor, in order for Panic to agree to act as a police informer. Moreover, Panic's

negative answer to the police signifies his transformation from an apolitical non-committed self-centred being to a politically well-informed 'caring' member of the black community who has become committed to black solidarity in the 'struggle'.

Panic's 'caring' character, which was 'hidden', has been triggered by his search for Ma Modise's son, Sam, who disappeared during a police raid. Moreover, Panic's No answer to the police was preceded by other rebellious actions against white domination such as when he throws a brick at the window of the white woman that Pat works for.

A connection can also be drawn between Panic's brick throwing action and the action of the protesting school children in the Soweto Uprisings who throw stones and rocks at the armed anti-riot police. All such actions are a demonstration of the rejection of the superiority of whites by blacks. The dualist system which prioritises the interests of whites has entrenched white superiority. By extension, when Panic throws the brick that breaks the white madam's window, it is the symbol of his rejection of the white superiority portrayed by the white woman as she seeks to control Panic's visits to Pat.

The restrictive conditions in prison where white policemen control and maintain domination over black prisoners signify the system of apartheid in the context of South Africa as a whole. Even the black policemen who work in the prison are junior officers subjected to white senior officers such as the policeman who inspects the cells where Panic and the political activists are held. The ideology that guides the white police officers, like that which guides the actions of the white madam, is influenced by the segregationist discourse that views blacks in the city as servants of the needs of whites.

As the question of race is central to the ideology of the white police officers and the white madam, it is also central to the dualist system because the system is a product of the project of enlightenment, which naturalised invasion, imperialism and colonialism by Europeans,

> ... the skin colour of Western Europeans differed from that of most of the peoples they conquered. Thus, the world stratification system created by the new empires was affected by racial differences, for Western Europe was a white world expanding into a non-white world (Martin, 1995:6).

But, the solidarity of the black political prisoners appears to suggest that the only way to defeat the racism of apartheid is when blacks stand together. This is the kind of solidarity which Panic affirms when he says No to his white interrogator at the end of the film.

The long journey which Panic undertakes in search of Sam, is a symbolic inquiry into Panic's own identity. He has assumed a different name to different people. But in terms of the structure of the film every name suggests a different identity for Panic. For instance, to Ma Modise, he is Themba, to Pat and his own friends and acquaitances, he is Panic, to the policeman who interrogates him, he is Johannes.

Like Panic's many identities, the film *Mapantsula* (1988) was made under the guise that it was one of those films, which bowed to the state's conservative line – it was pitched as promoting the idea that crime does not pay – that way, the film was registered as apolitical and its director, Oliver Schmitz and scriptwriter, Thomas Mogotlane, qualified for a state subsidy to make the film. But, in actual fact, the film was a political indictment of the segregationist policies of the apartheid state. When the Directorate of Publication became suspicious, it ordered 17 cuts, which represented about 40 seconds, before granting permission for the film to be screened in public.

Mapantsula, whose main theme criticises apartheid, exposed the contradictions of apartheid by paradoxically exploiting funds earmarked to prop up apartheid. Also, by using facilities, which were created to advance the segregationist principles of apartheid, *Mapantsula* succeeded to avert restrictions posed by the various states of emergency after 1986, which made it impossible to shoot riot scenes in any black township. Schmitz shot such scenes at the production sets of Heyns Film, which were

built by the Department of Information to make productions for the former television channels for blacks, TV2&3, which featured shows earmarked to give legitimacy to the apartheid government. Prior to the introduction of the two television channels, the government had made provision for a channel, which was showing programmes earmarked for whites. Significantly that channel was named TV1.

Mapantsula, the title of the film, refers to a certain type of young men in the township who were known for their survival techniques, which included robbing, especially, whites of their money and private property. However, such offences were not committed for any political reason, but because of pure economics and common sense. Whites were regarded as the ones who had everything (first world) while blacks had nothing (third world). Moreover, the concerns of a Pantsula (Panic), like those of a capitalist, are individualist rather than communal.

In addition, unlike Jim, the countryman, in *African Jim*, Panic, the gangster, did not depend on the intervention of a white liberal for his survival; he committed crime by himself to enrich himself. He was a daring character who would rather rot in jail than starve or go without the kind of wardrobe, which gives him his 'special' identity. As Panic, played by Thomas Mogotlane who wrote the screen play for *Mapantsula*, putting on a stolen suit, tells the women riding with him on the bus, "I'm a traveling executive, running for all situations. You are what you wear, Mama!"

The depiction of the contrast between areas inhabited by blacks and those occupied by whites seems to be one of the main focus of *A Dry White Season.* As was the case in *Mapantsula*, the emphasis in *Dry White Season* appears to be on space and the racial qualification of those that inhabit such spaces. For instance, the opening sequence of the film shows a black boy and white boy chasing each other and wrestling. Soon thereafter, the camera takes us to a white suburb where the parents of young schoolboy rugby players are cheering their sons up as the two teams contest for victory. Other camera shots depict scenes of young black school children who are shouting slogans carrying protesting placards. Soon the police arrive and shoot to kill as the school children run for cover.

The contrast seems to suggest that parents in the 'first world' fight the political battles of their children while children in the 'third world' fight the political battles of their parents. Moreover, rather than cheer up their children, parents in the (third world) weep for their young sons and daughters who have died in the battle with the police or have been detained without trial.

Rather than focus attention on the student unrests, *Mapantsula* pays attention to the black councils, by extension, the Bantustans, which had delayed direct engagement between black political leaders and the leaders of the government of apartheid. Every time black leaders approached the leaders of the government to discuss how to get rid of apartheid, they were referred to "proper channels" such as the councils or Bantustans. In addition, the film also deals with the regressive conditions of employment of blacks, which were created by the segregationist discourse which gave rise to the dual world metaphor.

In addition to subjecting blacks to the lowest ranks of South Africa's workforce, such division of labour, were necessary to cause blacks to fear whites in order for whites to exercise complete control over blacks. In *Mapantsula*, for instance, the reason why Panic's girlfriend, Pat, lost her job, is because Pat's employer is unable to control Panic, who visits Pat any time he wants to, especially during working hours, and demands to see Pat.

However, because Panic does not work for the white madam, the madam is unable to control Panic. At the same time, Panic is not afraid of the white madam. He insults her whenever she irritates him. When the white madam prevents Panic to see Pat, he calls the madam a racist and breaks her window by throwing a brick at it.

The emphasis is therefore on white superiority – and the correlation is black inferiority.

At the meeting with the councillors, Duma tells the mayor, "Maybe, for you, apartheid is comfortable, but it is at our expense. And, we are sick and tired of carrying you on our backs. You must be accountable to the people or resign." The message is very clear to the mayor, who is wearing an expensive suit and arrived with a chauffeur-driven car. He lives well. It pays him to be a mayor, the servant of apartheid. That is why he and his council obstruct the removal of apartheid, never mind that it oppresses the "people" and keeps them at the lowest level of socio-economic development.

In that sense the black councillors, like the black gangsters experience a temporary success which tends to blur the demarcation between the 'first world' conditions which are associated with whites and the 'third world' conditions which are associated with blacks.

Parents, especially black leaders, are aware that meaningful change does not rest with the councillors or the leaders of the Bantustans; it rests with the custodians of apartheid, the senior politicians of the white government. However, such leaders were prepared to do anything and everything to prevent real consultation from taking place between them and the true leaders of the black people.

The delaying tactics of the councillors are witnessed among the police officers in *A Dry White Season*. The police send Ben du Toit, played by Donald Sutherland, who is inquiring about the whereabouts of his employee, Gordon Ngubane, from one junior officer to another. Earlier, when Ben could not find the son of his employee, Gordon, played by Winston Ntshona, his lawyer told him that the police have murdered the boy. But, none of the police officers Ben consulted could tell him the truth about the whereabouts of Gordon or that of his son's body. Eventually, Ben realizes that the police are playing a game. Delaying tactics was a game, which the machinery of the white police state was very good at.

The contraditions of apartheid have sometimes caused a confusion as to what is the deciding factor for group solidarity, usually in the politics of South Africa race is the common denominator but that was not always the case. For instance, when Ben visits the police to make inquiries about the missing son of Gordon, he puts on his green blazer with a springbok badge, a clear evidence that he was a former springbok rugby player, an Afrikaner who played competitive rugby at the highest level, i.e the national level.

However, to the police, it did not matter whether Ben was a springbok player or not, as long as he did not think like them, he was an outsider, a traitor. In terms of ideology, which is forever shifting, the ideological grounding 'first world' or 'third world' is not a rigid one, it is constantly shifting because there may be people with different ideological convictions in the same 'world'.

The school children's defiance as it is portrayed in *Sarafina* demonstrates that there was a relaxation in the power relations between boys and girls. Girls like Sarafina were able to assume leadership positions if they had the will and the ability to do so. In South Africa, under apartheid, the status of black women was almost equal to that of children, many black women felt they were more oppressed by apartheid than black men. For instance, a married black woman could not enter into a contractual agreement without the approval of her husband. Even for a simple business deal such as a higher purchase agreement, she needed his signature to indicate his approval.

What this means is that in the 'third world' some people are more oppressed than others. It was therefore a significant move that the role of women was enhanced in the Soweto unrest.

By wanting to be a star, Sarafina is actually trying to transcend the 'third world' conditions into the conditions of the 'first world' conditions. For instance, when she visits her mother at her place of work she playfully throws herself on the white woman's double bed and throws away the pillows. At the beginning of the film,

Sarafina wakes up from a three-quarter bed where she sleeps with her little brother and two sisters. The constrast is between her mother's empoyer's bed and the bed she uses at home, and she enjoys throwing herself on the big bed. The world where her mother's employer lives is the kind of world Sarafina want to graduate into by becoming a star singer. But she also wants to be Mandela for she likes being a political leader. Moreover, she is happiest in her role as Mandela in the school production at the end of the film.

To many people, especially black South Africans, Mandela was seen as the political saviour like Moses who rescued the children of Israel from the oppression of the Egyptians. Mandela was seen as the person who was going to lead black South Africans out of the racism and oppression of Apartheid. For instance, in the film, students sing the song, which says, "Mandela, freedom is in your hands!" That is also why the emphasis in *Sarafina* is on the release of Mandela from prison.

Mandela is also important to Sarafina, he is the first thing she looks at and talks to when she wakes up in the morning. Above her bed, Sarafina hangs the portrait of Mandela, which she greets affectionately as if it was Mandela himself she was talking to. Mandela's picture inspires her not only to be like Mandela, but to be Mandela. However, in order for Sarafina to be Mandela, she has to be a leader in the political struggle for the liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa as well as be a superstar. In addition to being a political leader, the stars and superstars that performed annually at the release Mandela music concerts in London had made Mandela a superstar.

But, the music concert that Sarafina performs in at the beginning of the film, in which she wins a Grammy Award and rides in a limousin, is a dream sequence, which takes place only in Sarafina's head. The scene is interspersed with harassment of school children by the South African police to prefigure the political struggle Sarafina will be engaged in throughout the film and the actual student production in which she becomes Nelson Mandela at the end of the film.

By then, Sarafina has experienced the torture that goes hand in hand with being a leader in the 'struggle'. She has also been introduced to different 'worlds' such as the killing field where she participates, along with other school children, in burning Constable Sabela to death; the prison world and the world of deprivation represented by her tiny home on top of a hill in Soweto are a reflection of the 'third world'; the home of her mother's employer reflects the 'first world'.

Having been to such diverse 'worlds', like Mandela would do when he becomes President of South Africa, Sarafina can now become a superstar like Mandela. Though Mandela does not sing, those who made Mandela a superstar were themselves stars and superstars in the music industry that is why Sarafina sings to become a superstar. According to the film, therefore, Mandela does not only personify the 'struggle', his personality also encapsulates stardom. Hence, for Sarafina to be a Mandela, she had to be a leader in the 'struggle' and a superstar.

That Sarafina is a woman does not matter. In fact, the film is trying to show that one of the successes of the 1976 'struggle' was that it had obliterated the socio-cultural divisions between males and females. In that 'struggle' there were as many males as females that took up leadership positions. It did not matter whether a leader was a boy or a girl, as long as the individual had the qualities and the commitment of a leader, they were elected into leadership positions and led. That is how Sarafina became a leader in the 'struggle'. Similarly, it was acceptable for her to play the role of Mandela in the school production towards the end of the film.

Confirming the fact that in the school production Sarafina actually becomes Mandela, Colette guldimann says,

> While Sarafina is not present at the outset in this political activity (the killing of Sabela) she will, during the film, become, literally, one of the boys in a sinister moment when the children burn the black policeman, Sabela. The rest of the film is an attempted recuperation from this violence and the violence experienced in prison which culminates with the scenes at the end where Sarafina becomes Mandela, but a Mandela aspousing values that have derived from famale role models (who replace the male role models) in the film (1996:86).

The school children kill the black policeman, Constable Sabela, not because he is worse than the white policemen he works with, but he knows the students 'too well' and he understands better the tactics that would be effective on them. In addition, he epitomises the evil actions of the police. For instance, it was Constable Sabela who led the assault on Crocodile. Sabela was also present when the police shot Crocodile dead.

Moreover, in order to get Guitar to act as his informer, Constable Sabela, played by Mbongeni Ngema who wrote the original stage script of *Sarafina* and co-wrote the screenplay of the film with William Nicholson, threatened to kill Guitar's disabled father. In fact, one afternoon, when Guitar returns from school, he finds his father outside his house in the yard, struggling to get back to the house. Later, Constable Sabela confesses to Guitar that it was he who left Guitar's father in the open yard. Constable Sabela's actions convinced Guitar that he meant what he said about killing Guitar's father. As a result, Guitar agrees to spy for him.

At the beginning of the film, schoolboys are seen carrying patrol bombs and running to their school to touch it with the bombs. By destroying their school, the school children hope that the government will provide a new and better-equipped school. The students are also aware that compared to a white school, the government spent very little on black schools. The assumption was that the government had been saving all the money it was supposed to spend on black education; therefore there was no shortage of funds to build better-developed schools for blacks. Compared to conditions at a white school the black school is in a 'third world' condition and the white school in a 'first world' condition.

In *A Dry White Season*, Gordon could not trace the body of his son, Jonathan, who was killed by the police during interrogation. The police killed Gordon himself because he relentlessly searched for the truth about the whereabouts of his son's body. After Ben had told Gordon that Jonathan was reportedly dead, Gordon asks,

- How did they say he died, Mr. Ben?

- In the rioting.
- In the rioting?
- They buried him, that's all I know. Nobody claimed his body.
- They buried him where?
- I don't know.
- You don't know?
- That was all Mr. McKenzie could find out.
- Then I'll find out. Like God is my witness, I'll find out what really happened and where he lies.
- Please Gordon, it is a terrible thing. But, there's nothing more we can do, you and I.
- That's what you said when they whipped him. But, he's my child. His body belongs to Emily and me.

Gordon kept his promise of finding out what really happened to his son. He inquired from several people, including the black security policeman who later arrested Gordon at his house and used outrageous tactics such as the "airplane" and the "wet sack" to interrogate Gordon. When Gordon was arrested, he was in possession of affidavits from a schoolboy who was arrested with Jonathan and a cleaner at John Vorster's Square, who had witnessed Jonathan's condition before he died. Even during interrogation, Gordon keeps asking the police, "Where is the body of my son?" And, that infuriates his interrogators who apply more severe punishment on him.

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated the link between space and the ideology of those who use such spaces. In addition, it has also drawn attention to the fact that there are often multiple and contested ideologies in any one space. It is no wonder, then, that in a system characterized by an inherently inequitable 'dual world' paradigm, the 'struggle' for justice should have taken on such violent proportions. Further research in this field could investigate the extent to which a segregationist discourse has survived in post-apartheid South Africa.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study has argued that the dual world metaphor of 'first world-third world', which has been appropriated from an international discourse about problems of world-wide socio-economic situation, is essentially a discourse of domination, which was used in South Africa as a justification for white political domination. In this thesis the metaphor primarily reflects the image of the misfortunes of the black peoples of Africa, who share a common history of colonialism with other 'third world' population groups. The 'third world' category denotes oppressed historical and contemporary relationships, exploitative ideological and cultural presuppositions, and repressive strategies and processes of development.

The thesis has highlighted the idea that, because the dualist system was institutionalised by apartheid in South Africa, black people's response took the form of a political 'struggle'. The study has outlined the South African historical and political context which gave rise to the various discourses that have a bearing on the dual world metaphor, such as the Jim-comes-to-Jo'burg urban discourse, and the rural cultural notion that blacks who go to cities like Johannesburg do not write or return. Relying on selected films made in South Africa and other countries of Africa, the thesis drew parallels between the dual world metaphor for 'first world-third world' in South Africa and between other African states and Europe.

Examples of black people who were forced to travel to the cities of South Africa in search of jobs because of non-development or underdevelopment in the rurals areas were compared to examples of regressive conditions in other African countries, which drove many young black Africans to European cities for employment opportunities.

However, the dual world metaphor, like the phrase, 'the white man's burden', is misleading because it gives the impression that underdevelopment is either a natural condition of blacks or a result of the traditionalist methods rural blacks – or people in the 'third world' – have relied on for years that are regarded as backward and ineffective. A more realistic view perhaps is one which links the development of the 'first world' to the underdevelopment of the 'third world'; that accepts that one was a consequence of the other. Describing such a view, John Sharp says,

> There is more than one way to conceptualise the relationship between 'first' and 'third' worlds. The dominant usage sees their co-existence as accidental; an alternative view makes the underdevelopment of the 'third world' a consequence of the development of the 'first'. The alternative view, makes better historical sense, in that it involves a more accurate dipiction of the terms of the relationship over time. On the one hand, however, it too is a simplification of complex social processes, and it can be used, to the detriment of the people whose misfortune it purports to explain (Sharp, 1988:112).

Linking the concepts of conquest, enslavement and colonisation, Michael T. Martin says that they were the basis of the distinctly Eurocentric conception and the mythological reconstruction of race, culture and world history:

> The corollary of this dehistoricised ideological deformation was that blacks were unable to evolve and progress from traditional and unchanging world, in the absence of Europeans. This culturally anti-universalist doctrine, simplified here, was a central feature of the Euro-hegemony (1995:6).

Moreover, none of the economic and environmental structural readjustment programmes of Western institutions such as the World Bank or the IMF have come close to solving the socio-environmental or socio-economic problems of the 'third world'. Problems such as the shortage of energy resources, clean water and arable land. On the contrary, interventions by such institutions have only served to aggravate an already desperate situation – a condition indirectly reflected in the films selected for commentary. For instance, the beginning of *Cry, the Beloved Country* (especially the 1951 version) and *African Jim* shows images of the material deprivation which drove rural blacks to the cities of South Africa.

The study also focused on a small but relevant aspect of filmmaking, which dealt with the influence of the Western ideology of liberal humanism, which drives capitalism. Given that the dualist interpretation of 'first world-third world' is a Western historical formation of the capitalist world order, African socialism was compared and constrasted with Western Capitalism. But due to the variegated, multilayered and transnational dimensions for understanding the terms 'capitalism' and 'socialism', they were used cautiously in this thesis to refer to their immediate and, to a certain extent, subjective association with individualism and group participation. Films made by Western filmmakers, particularly in Hollywood, and especially in the first fifty years of the twentieth century, were seen as advancing the objectives of European (capitalist) colonialism in 'third world' countries particularly Africa.

For instance, Peter Davis, referring to Western filmmaking and the images it portrayed of Africa and the Africans says,

> The invention of cinema at the time when imperialism reached its apex amounted to what was in effect a second conquest of Africa, not merely in the acquisition of the images, but in the way these images were presented (1996:2).

In South Africa the segregationist discourse that blacks were naturally suited to the pastroral lifestyle in the rural villages was contradicted by lively images of blacks enjoying city life in *Come Back, Africa* and *Jump the Gun*. In spite of the divastating conditions of black labour and poor state of living, city scenes in the 1959 film show the resilience of blacks and their determination to remain in the city rather than return to their rural villages. For example, a group of black youngsters enjoying themselves playing penny-whistle music to the applause of workers and shoppers during what appears to be a lunch break. Similar groups of young boys are captured in various parts of Sophiatown playing penny-whistle music. In addition, in *Jump the Gun* the female protagonist, Gugu, who is a black woman, is shown to enjoy life in the big city in spite of the financial struggle she is faced with before she signs a recording contract with a local recording company.

On the contrary, a white male protagonist in this film, Clint, who arrived simultaneously with Gugu in Johannesburg, is shown to feel uncomfortable and 'unsafe' in the big city. For his own security, he acquires an illegal firearm before proposing to his girlfriend, who is a prostitute. However, his girlfriend is not interested in marriage. Eventually, Clint leaves Johannesburg without any announcement to his girlfriend. In a sense, he is shown to be alien figure in the big city.

In *Soleil'O*, a group of male and female black Africans, working and living in Paris, have assembled in a city bar for meals and drinks, and they join a black guitarist in a song and dance session. At the end of the session of fun, the bar-tender, who gave permission to the guitar man to sing and play his guitar, says, "I must admit that the black folks surely know how to have fun". But due to the predominating gloomy atmosphere throughout the film, which is caused by poor living conditions and state of labour of black Africans in Paris, the fun time is a transient moment, but, at least, it expresses the possibility that the Africans can reconcile themselves to life in the city.

However, the quest for survival was by far the strongest impulse driving rural blacks to the cities of South Africa; and black Africans from outside South Africa to travel to the cities of Europe.

For instance, in *Cry, the Beloved Country*, Gertrude who is the sister of the protagonist, Reverend Stephen Khumalo, goes to Johannesburg to look for her husband who has gone to Johannesburg to look for employment but never wrote or returned. A friend and a member of Reverend Khumalo who accompanied the Priest from Ndotsheni to the railway station where the Reverend is going to catch his train to Johannesburg , asks the Priest to enquire about the daughter of Sibeko of Ndotsheni, who went to work for the daughter of Smith in Springs, near Johannesburg.

Reverend Khumalo's brother, John, also left Ndotsheni to look of better living opportunities in Johannesburg, where he became a well-known businessman and

political activist for the ANC. Gertrude herself never wrote or returned, instead, she became a business woman trading in liquor and sex.

In *Soleil'O*, the black Africans who are living in Paris are forever looking for better employment opportunities. For instance, the main character, John, continuously responds to job advertisements without ever getting employed in any of them, eventually he accepts a job as a street sweeper, one of the easily available menial jobs for black Africans in Paris.

The struggle which John in *Soleil'O* experiences in his search for a suitable job can be associated with the determination which Zachariah in *Come Back, Africa* demonstrates by forever looking for a better job in Johannesburg. But unlike John, Zachariah finds employment but is quickly dismissed due to the division of labour which placed blacks at the bottom level of the workforce in South Africa. Zechariah is from a rural village. Soon his wife and children join Zechariah in Johannesburg. In spite of his objections, his wife finds employment as a sleep-in domestic in a local white surburb.

Further examples of the search for survival which drove rural blacks to the cities of South Africa, and other black Africans to the cities of Europe, is portrayed in *African Jim*, *Jump the Gun* and *La Noir de*. For instance, though he came for a short visit in Johannesburg, Jim in *African Jim* ends up working first as a gardener cum house cleaner and later as a waiter in a night club. It is there that Jim discovers his singing talent and is invited to sign a recording contract for a recording company. Like Jim, Gugu in *Jump the Gun*, came to Johannesburg to visit her aunt for a short while, but because she and her aunt could not get along, Gugu had to find an alternative accommodation and a way to make a living. Eventually she established herself in a singing career and never returns to her home in Durban.

Similarly, Diuoana in *La Noire de* leaves her hometown, Dakar in Senegal, to pursue a career as an *au pair* in the international city of Paris, looking after her mistress's

children. However, due to the inhuman treatment of her mistress, Diuoana commits suicide by drowning herself in her bath.

Lastly, the thesis demonstrated the link between space and the ideology of those who occupy such spaces. For instance, at the beginning of *Mapantsula*, the main character, Panic, is transported along with black political activists at the back of a police van by white policemen, who sit in the front of the van. The white policemen are in charge of the prisoners riding at the back of the police van. Similarly, in the prison where Panic and the political prisoners are held, the white policemen control and dominate not only the black prisoners, but the black policemen as well. The physical and metaphorical space which the white policemen inhabit resembles the 'first world' and the space that the black policemen occupy represents the 'third world'. This discrepancy between "black space" and "white space" is also clearly illustrated in the Panic's bus ride from the squalor of the backyard shack in which he lives in Soweto to the lush suburbs of Johannesburg where his girlfriend, Pat, works.

The ideology of the white madam Pat works for, like that of the white policemen in the prison where Panic and the black political activists are held, is influenced by the segregationist discourse that views blacks as being in the city to serve the interest of whites. As such, the white policemen view the black policemen as inferior. Though both the white and black policemen inhabit the same working space, there are multiple and contested ideologies in that space.

It is no wonder, therefore, that in a system characterised by an inherently inequitable 'dual world' paradigm, the 'struggle' for justice should have taken such violent proportions such as the burning of the black constable, Sibeko, in *Sarafina* or the brutal killing of black school children by mainly white policemen and soldiers in *Mapantsula* and *A Dry White Season*. Further research in this field could investigate the extent to which a segregationist discourse has survived in post-apartheid South Africa.

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